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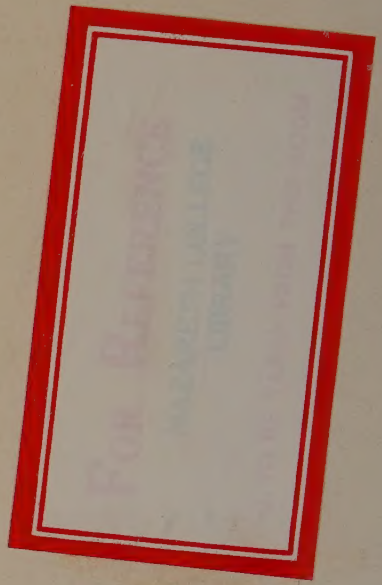

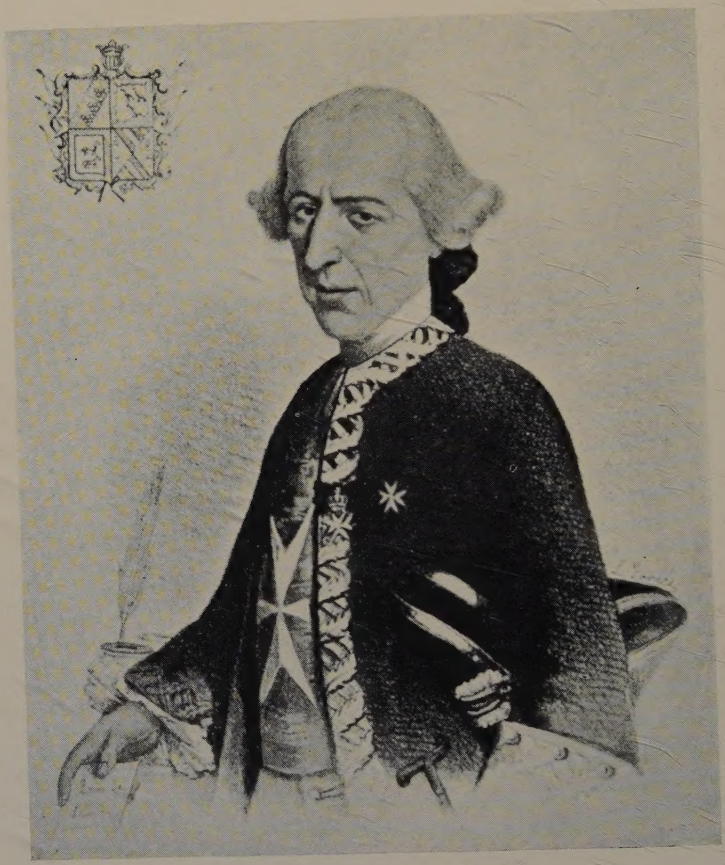

Portrait of Viceroy Bucareli.

From Rivera Cámbas, *Los Gobernantes de México.*

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS
OF
NEW CALIFORNIA

BY

FRAY FRANCISCO PALÓU, O.F.M.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH
FROM THE MANUSCRIPT IN THE ARCHIVES OF MEXICO

EDITED BY

HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON
PROFESSOR OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND
DIRECTOR OF THE BANCROFT LIBRARY
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CHAPTER XXXVII

EMBARKATION OF THE FATHER PRESIDENT FOR MEXICO, HIS ILLNESS, HIS ARRIVAL, AND THE REPRESENTATION THAT HE MADE TO HIS EXCELLENCY

It has already been said that the reverend father president, seeing that the spiritual conquest was being delayed for lack of superior orders, and by the conduct of the commander at Monterey, decided to go to Mexico to solicit the necessary measures from his Excellency. With this object he embarked on the 19th of October, 1772, in the packet *San Carlos,* and he had such a fortunate voyage that on the 4th of November he was already in San Blas. Although it was his wish to reach the College as soon as possible, he was delayed because he fell seriously ill of a high fever which put him at the gates of death, for which he prepared himself with the holy sacraments; but it was God's will to spare his life so that he might accomplish the purpose for which he had taken such a long voyage.[1]

As soon as he saw himself free of the illness, with the lively anxiety which he had to reach his destination, and without waiting for complete

recovery, he again set out on the road; but the hardships suffered on it and the little strength that he had left caused him to have a relapse after reaching the College of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, where he became seriously ill and in great danger. But he recovered a second time, and, as soon as he was convalescent he went on his way, arriving at our College of San Fernando on the 16th of February, 1773.

As soon as he arrived and received the blessing of the reverend father guardian he went to see his Excellency the Viceroy, who received him with expressions of a desire to give him the consolation which he sought by vigorous measures for the spiritual promotion of the new conquests. For this purpose he asked him to draw up a representation setting forth everything which he might think desirable. He did so and the representation is copied here literally.[2]

The Representation

Fray Rafael Verger, of the regular observance of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, present guardian of the apostolic College of San Fernando of this city of Mexico, to the father lecturer and president of the missions of San Carlos de Monterey, San Diego, and those intervening, Fray Junípero Serra, Greetings:

In view of the fact that his Excellency the Viceroy of this New Spain, Don Fray Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursua, desires a faithful and exact account of everything that is conducive and necessary to the stability and augmentation of those new conquests, with the object of taking the best means for the service of both Majesties, I order your Reverence, under charge of holy obedience, to set forth as clearly and briefly as possible the points which you may consider conducive to the purpose named, with the arguments and reasons that may occur to you in regard to each one of them, expecting, as I do expect, from the piety, wisdom, veracity, and long experience which assist your Reverence in the management of Indians, that you will faithfully satisfy the Catholic and pious zeal of his Excellency, as the present circumstances demand.

College of San Fernando de Mexico, March 9, 1773.

Fray Rafael Verger, Guardian.

Most Excellent Sir:

In obedience to the foregoing superior order of my prelate, and at the same time confiding in and edified by the great zeal and vigor with which your Excellency, as vice-regent of our Catholic and Sovereign Monarch (whom God save), desires the permanence and the continued betterment of that new Christianity, begun to-day with five missions, and which it is hoped to spread still more by the founding of others; and appreciating the great favor with

which your Excellency, without any merit of mine, deigns to honor me (since I have been present at everything that has been done in those new establishments from the very day and hour when they were begun, and since I am an eye-witness to everything that has happened), with the task of representing before your Excellency all that may appear to me necessary and conducive to the success of the pious designs of our great monarch, whom God prosper, to confirm and spread our Holy Catholic Faith in those vast provinces, I, Fray Junípero Serra, of the Order of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco, apostolic missionary of the College *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando of this Court of Mexico, president of the missions to the heathen of Monterey and its environs, set forth to your Excellency with the proper humility the following points:

1. At present it is necessary that a pilot and an assistant pilot should come from Vera Cruz to conduct the packet *San Carlos* to Monterey, for in case your Excellency should grant to Don Miguel Pino the leave of absence for which he has asked to return to Cádiz, his native place, where he has his wife and mother, from whom he has been absent now for many years, no pilots will be left in San Blas but the alférez of frigate, Don Juan Pérez, and the pilot, Don José Cañizares, to whom, because of his youth, it does not seem right to entrust at present the conduct of the bark as principal and only pilot. But he ought to go as second, in order to alternate watches

with the chief pilot, for it is very hard for one to have to do it alone, as happened in this last voyage to Don Juan Pérez. I say for the present, because as soon as the frigate is considered fit to make the voyage, another pilot and another second pilot will be necessary, all together being what I verbally stated to your Excellency, namely, that two pilots and two second pilots were needed.

2. I consider it necessary to use all urgency in equipping the new frigate with all possible haste, for, in view of its great size (for I went inside of it and saw its spacious hold), a voyage by it, together with the two packets, can relieve the presidio and missions already founded or to be founded from suffering and hunger, and can make all the men happy and content, which is what especially concerns us for the advancement that we all desire.

3. I call to your Excellency's attention the fact that this year no salary has been collected for me, though it has been collected for twelve friars, as follows: for ten who have been assigned and are actually present serving two by two in the five new missions, as appears from the attached certificate, which is that of the officer of the presidio; and for two more who are detained in San Diego for the founding of San Buenaventura. It is my intention, as soon as your Excellency shall have taken the measures that seem best to you, to return to my mission of San Carlos. It does not seem to be right for my brothers to support me from that which they

do not have; and though it may not seem necessary to maintain three ministers for one mission, permit me to say that I do not find this undesirable, for, since the third one is the president, it is very necessary for him to be supernumerary, so that he may make his journeys to visit the other missions and assist in the founding of the new ones, leaving two at San Carlos, so that on feast days one can celebrate Mass at the mission and the other at the presidio or in other parts, and so that the third may have the title of chaplain of the presidio. His salary may well be four hundred pesos, which I believe to be the least that should be given to any clerical father to whom they may give that title. But he ought to reside at the mission, a matter in regard to which I am waiting until later to speak more at length to your Excellency. The two friars detained at San Diego to await the founding of San Buenaventura are the father preacher Fray Ramón Ussón and the father preacher Fray Juan Figuer, who have been there since the beginning of November of the past year of 1772.

4. Several pious persons of Tepic, Compostela, and their neighborhoods, having heard of the privations that we are suffering there, have promised that on my return they would give me some alms of corn and other provisions for ourselves and the new Christians. I therefore beg that your Excellency will be pleased to order the commissary of San Blas to receive the alms that I may collect, with any exam-

inations that he may please to make, stating in the invoices that it belongs to the missions, and is not subject to the officer of the presidio.

And permit me to say the same in regard to some packs that are detained in Loreto, composed of books, pictures, crucifixes to use in preaching, and other ornaments and utensils that were for the personal use of the friars of this new college, who have gone out and are to go out from the old missions of California. In consideration of the cost of transportation, and since the friars are coming to Mexico, where nothing is lacking, they have given them to the new missions, which lack everything. And having been examined, as they have been, outside and inside, by the reverend Dominican fathers, with this procedure they have seen with their own eyes with what lack of reason Governor Don Felipe Barry has said and proclaimed that all the packs were made up of ornaments stolen from the missions. If these packs, however, cannot be taken by land to San Diego, your Excellency can order the governor to send them by sea to the port of San Blas, directed to the commissary there, who will put them on the bark which may sail for Monterey, with the same statement in the invoices that they are private property of the missions.

5. It seems to me highly desirable that your Excellency shall grant permission to the captain of the royal presidio of Tubac for the expedition that he has offered to make to seek a route to the

port of San Diego or that of Monterey, without your Excellency omitting for this reason to give orders, if you think best, to some official of New Mexico to undertake the same task; for, as I am informed, by starting from Santa Fé and traveling directly west,[3] with very slight declination to the south, Monterey will be found, since the latter is situated in latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty-six minutes, and the former, according to the diary of Don Pedro de Rivera, is in thirty-seven degrees and twenty-eight[4] minutes. It is certain that if by our own good fortune communication should be opened by other routes with those regions, especially with New Mexico, the conquest might notably be increased and many souls won for heaven.

6. It seems to me very desirable to remove and retire the officer Don Pedro Fages from the command of the presidio of Monterey and to put another in his place, for if this is not done there will be no cessation of desertions among the soldiers and so many other people, which up to now have caused and are causing so much censure; nor will those who cannot do more fail to continue to be, as they have been from first to last, very dissatisfied, not so much from excessive labor or want of food, as I have often heard many of them say to various people, as from the ill-treatment and bad manners of that officer, which I have known for a long time from personal experience.

I have just received with the last letters copies of the representations made on the one hand by the volunteer soldiers of that presidio, to their captain Don Agustín Callis, whom they suppose to be in this Court, and others by the Leather-jackets, to their captain Don Fernando Rivera, whom they also suppose to be in Mexico. Both bodies beg their respective officers to rescue them in whatever way they can from such oppression and subjection. If I were to speak, not of what concerns my person or the other friars, for this will be passed over in silence, but of the hindrance that his conduct has always caused to the missions, it would be a long discourse. If it should be necessary to write it in more detail and to give more reasons for urging what is asked for here, it will be done on the least hint from your Excellency. But if what has been said above, together with the information given by the reverend father guardian of this College in writing, and what I gave by word of mouth, is enough for the purpose, I beg your Excellency to let him retire with honor and without disgrace, and may God bless him.

7. I am of the opinion that it is not best for the present that the officer placed in command of that presidio should be one of the regular troops, for, as those gentlemen are not accustomed to such service as that of the leather-jacket soldiers, which is totally different from that of the other troops, we might find ourselves in the same difficulties as here-

tofore. And if your Excellency will grant me the great favor of your permission to propose a suitable person for the office, I will say that, in my opinion, among all those who compose the company none is more suitable for it than its sergeant, Don José Francisco Ortega.

The reasons for my opinion are his services and his ability to discharge the duties of the office. First as to his services: After having served the king for some years as a leather-jacket soldier in California, at the time of the regulars of the Company who were later expelled, when he was distinguished by the appointment of sergeant, he resigned his place and devoted himself to working in the mines in the southern part of that Peninsula. At that time, as he seemed to be the most suitable person of that department, he was made lieutenant-justice of all those mining camps, and he administered that office with equity for some years. The new governor, Don Gaspar de Portolá, came to attend to the expulsion of the Jesuit fathers and to take the governorship of the province; and, having met and talked with Sergeant Ortega he offered him his former post of soldier and sergeant, and, having obtained his consent, he took him in his company to Loreto. There he served the governor and the king as accountant and manager of the royal storehouse for more than a year, during which time the royal exchequer was in charge of Señor Portolá. Afterwards came the new commissary, Don Francisco Trillo, and he made

use of Sergeant Ortega's pen all the time that it was needed.

The time came for the expedition to Monterey, and Sergeant Ortega was designated for the second division, in which I went, and also the governor. We sallied forth, and just as we were setting foot in this country of the heathen, we received the last letters from the illustrious visitor-general, and in the one that was for the governor, which he read before me, his Lordship said that Sergeant Ortega might accompany the expedition, with the consolation of knowing that he had reserved for him, upon his return, the position of lieutenant of the company, which Don Blas de Somera was leaving, having asked for retirement. This promise we all celebrated, giving him hearty congratulations.

He went with the expedition, and as soon as we came to the end of the short stretch of road which some of the soldiers knew because they had been over it on a preceding expedition, the governor detailed the sergeant to go every day, accompanied by a soldier, to explore the route that we were to take on the following day. And thus he continued for the space of more than a month that our journey lasted, going three time over the road the rest of the expedition traveled but once. He went to look for the watering place and the camping site, returned with the information, and then went with all the party to the place selected. The soldier who accompanied him was sometimes relieved, but the sergeant

never. The danger of going in this way among a heathen people who were now resisting us, as we saw afterwards, kept me in constant anxiety; and in fact on some occasions his escape in safety could be attributed only to the saints of his devotion.

After our arrival at San Diego, where everybody was surprised at the manner in which we had come, the departure from that port in search of the harbor of Monterey was determined upon. The sergeant went with the rest; and, according to what I was told by fathers Crespi and Gómez, who went with that expedition to the harbor of San Francisco, in the whole of it the work of Señor Ortega was notable. For although Captain Rivera was named chief explorer, the sergeant never left off serving in the same office; and especially[5] when they went out in various directions to look for the harbor, it was he who penetrated farthest in the examination of the estuaries of San Francisco, looking for a passage to the other shore, which was not found.

After the expedition had returned to San Diego and the governor had been informed of what had happened to us on the day of the Assumption of Our Lady, when the heathen had killed one of our people, wounded others, and tried to kill us all, and it became necessary to return to Monterey, as was done after the arrival of the bark, and it seemed to him that a person of complete confidence was required to command the guard that was to remain at that mission, he designated Sergeant Ortega for the place.

When I went to Monterey, suffering the pain of leaving the two fathers among so many perils and equally great privations, the chief consolation that I had in regard to the first was that the sergeant was staying with them, and in fact my confidence was not misplaced. After the expedition was concluded they transferred him to California. There the governor has employed him in journeys to Sinaloa for provisions, and in going back and forth to San Diego to look for and mark sites for the five missions which are to be placed in the intervening country. While he was performing that duty, climbing mountains and threading ravines, he discovered, besides the principal object, a road from Vellicatá to San Diego by which about fifty leagues are saved, and in future the distance will be shortened still more.

This is a brief resumé of the services of the person whom I propose to your Excellency. And as to his qualifications for the office, I will say that in commanding the soldiers, as far as I have seen, he is firm without anger, prudent and judicious. I believe that they will love him without ceasing to fear him, and that they will fear him enough without ceasing to love him. And since in all the duties that he has performed and that I have related he has conducted himself with honor, I expect that he will do the same in others that may be entrusted to him. Because in his youth he was employed in the city of Zelaya, his native town, in the manage-

ment of warehouses and stores, he is acquainted with this business and is expert[6] at it. He has a good pen, and so I am confident that the warehouse will be well managed; and because he has a God-fearing conscience the accounts will be correct.

Don Pedro Fages entered the office which he has to-day with only the title of lieutenant, and with the same title this worthy person might enter the office, if it seems well to your Excellency, and if not you will determine, as always, the best course.

8. Your Excellency should strictly order this officer that on the first request by the missionary father of any of the missions, he must remove any soldier or soldiers who set a bad example, especially in matters of chastity, and retire them to the presidio and send in their places others who are not noted as lascivious and scandalous. And even though the father may not expose the offense of the soldier when he asks that they remove him, let it be attended to, for wisdom dictates that in some cases it would be best not to give the reason, either not to make public a secret offense, or for other circumstances that may easily be inferred. The father will take care not to ask for the removal of any soldier who does no wrong to the mission, and so if he makes such a request it will be a sign that there is a very good reason, and, consequently, it is just that his petition should be granted. It was so decided by some very excellent gentlemen, predecessors of your Excellency, and this College has so represented it.

9. Your Excellency should make known to each officer and to the soldiers that the management, chastisement, and education of the baptized Indians, and those that may be baptized, shall pertain privately to the missionary fathers, except in crimes of blood; and, therefore, that no chastisement or ill-treatment shall be inflicted upon any of them, either by the officer or any of the soldiers, without consulting the missionary father, for this is the immemorial custom of the kingdom since its conquest. It is in complete harmony with the natural law concerning the education of children, and an essential condition for the proper education of the poor neophytes. Therefore, in consequence of these considerations and others that could be accumulated, the illustrious visitor-general so ordered before leaving California, although it has been done very differently there, as a consequence of which very serious evils have resulted. I would like to dilate more on this important matter, and I will do so later if it should be necessary.

10. I will say that my opinion in regard to the number of soldiers needed by the missions for the escorts is as follows: for the mission of San Carlos de Monterey, situated on the plains of Carmelo River, in view of its proximity to the presidio, eight Leather-jacket soldiers will be enough; for the mission of San Antonio de Pádua de los Robles, ten of the same Leather-jackets; for that of San Luís Obispo de los Tichos also ten Leather-jackets; for

that of San Gabriel de los Temblores also ten Leather-jackets; and for that of San Diego del Puerto thirteen or fourteen, also Leather-jackets. The reason for this last increase is because it frequently happens that messengers go out from this mission, either to Monterey or to California, and if it should be left with a smaller number it might again happen as at the last arrival of the barks at that port, when Captain Juan Pérez found it with such a small number of soldiers that it was necessary for him to land a number of sailors for the proper defense of the mission, as I believe he wrote to your Excellency.

As to San Buenaventura and Santa Clara, for the present it seems to me that for the first there should be twenty, on account of its proximity to the channel of Santa Bárbara, and for the second fifteen. In regard to the mission of Our Seraphic Father San Francisco on his famous harbor I do not speak, for I am ignorant as to how and where your Excellency will decide that it shall be established.

From the above it results, in my opinion, that for the presidio and the missions already founded and to be founded, it will be necessary and very proper that an attempt be made to complete the number of one hundred Leather-jacket soldiers, and that they shall definitely belong to that presidio of Monterey, without being confused with those of Old California.

11. For those soldiers there should be established at the presidio of Monterey, their headquarters, a warehouse of goods, with a regulation of prices (of which they are ignorant up to now), and the method of payment, their accounts to be taken from the warehouse at Loreto, for on account of the great distance it is an inconvenience to them. And as they have to take most of their pay in goods, on which the royal factory may have its legal gains, their annual pay ought to be increased somewhat, for by the last orders it was greatly lowered, although their work was increased.

In this way they will be made content, and others with their families may ask to go there. It is certain that formerly the place of soldier was solicited with prayers and ardor, and his family, which he had with him, lived decently, but now there is no one to look for such a post or to wish for it. It is my opinion that if affairs were arranged on a good plan some captain in Sinaloa or some other[7] of those provinces might be ordered to recruit thirty or forty leather-jacket soldiers, as many of them as possible with respectable Spanish families, assuring them of the same good living that they formerly enjoyed in California. They might embark for California and then go by land to Monterey, supplied with animals, arms, and other necessaries for the service. In this way those missions would be well served, and the country would go on being settled, thus facilitating the conquest in spiritual and temporal matters.

It is not essential that all should be married, for if there are only two families for each mission I consider it very probable that the others will soon be married, for even in the present circumstances several have come to me to ask permission.

As for money, it seems to me that if they ask for any it should be given to them, for it must finally come to the warehouse, less something that they may spend with the people of the bark on the way. They could then be given the ration[8] on account, as has always been done at Loreto, and it might be that this way would be more profitable for them as well as for the treasury, for I suspect that they now eat and wear less and spend more. I desired to make out this statement mathematically, but I saw that it was impossible, through not knowing at what price the goods are bought and at what price they are to be sold, information necessary in order to know the exact amount of the gain. But, be that as it may, I believe that for the purpose of securing such high ends your Excellency will not stop at using more means.

12. It is very important that the missions shall be provided with some peons to cultivate the land, and endeavor to raise some crops for their maintenance and advancement. This benefit would by now have been partly secured if it were not for the opposition of the commander of the presidio, as I lately wrote to the reverend father guardian of this College from San Diego, in the middle of October,

the original letter being presented before the superior government of your Excellency, where it can be seen.

It seems to me that the easiest way is the one which we have asked for from the beginning and is stated in that letter. It is that young men from the neighborhood of San Blas shall go in the barks in the capacity of sailors. Among them there will be found, in my opinion, without much difficulty, farmers, cowboys, and muleteers. These can be distributed among the missions, six in each one, or at least four, with the condition that the commander of the presidio shall not have the right to take them away during the whole year. This arrangement would keep them contented, but without it no one would be found to remain voluntarily, especially with matters as they are now. During the year they should receive the pay of sailors from the auditor's office at San Blas, and free rations at the missions. If at the end of the year they should desire to persevere into the next, the same arrangement should be continued with them; and if they wish to return to San Blas with the bark they should not be hindered, but an effort should be made to secure others to remain in their places.

13. It is no less important that when the cattle go up, which by superior decree of your Excellency are to be taken from California to supply the missions of Monterey, there shall go with the company, voluntarily and with good treatment, some Indian

families from California, to be distributed among the missions, at least two or three to each mission, for by this means two purposes will be served. The first is to have those two or three Indians more for the work; and the second and principal one is that the heathen may see that there is marriage among the Christians also, whereas up to this time they have wondered much to see all the men without any women. When one of the fathers of San Diego went last year to California in search of provisions, which were exhausted at that mission, he took back with him, as a part of the company, two such families, and upon their arrival there was such excitement and joy among the new Christians, and also among the heathen, that they could not do enough for them; and if some more families who are not Indians should come from there it also would serve greatly for the same purpose, providing that there were means to maintain them.

14. It was the custom in California for the father of each mission to have a soldier, chosen by him,[9] not so much as guard as for a major domo. They called him the missionary soldier. He was charged by the father with the work, and everything else that came up in the duties of the mission; and if the soldier conducted himself properly it was usual for him to grow old in that position. But now everything is changed, for if it is merely known that a soldier is devoted to aiding and relieving the father, he is immediately taken away and moved to another

place. For the commander of Monterey says, citing the governor of California, that these soldiers, seeing themselves loved and favored by the fathers, become self-conceited, which is inimical to his authority. According to this idea, only those soldiers should be in the missions who do not esteem the fathers or have any love or respect for them.

In view of this state of affairs, I beg that your Excellency may be pleased to order the commander of the presidio to follow the old custom, and that the soldier of each mission chosen by the fathers for those offices shall be free of guard and sentinel duty; that he shall not be removed without serious cause; and that in the interest of harmony at least the reason be communicated to the missionary father. This measure is of great importance for the advancement of the temporal affairs of the missions, for the father cannot attend personally to everything, nor would he know how to direct all the manual work that comes up, for at the monastery they did not teach him this.

15. I beg your Excellency, in my name and in that of all the missionaries who are exiled there, that whatever is taken in the barks from here for the maintenance of the missions for the following year shall be marked separately from what belongs to the commander of the presidio and guards. The first year it was done this way, and there was nothing to dispute about. But in the two following years the commissary of San Blas sent it all to the commander

of the presidio, for him to give us what he pleased, to serve through the year, even the bells for which I asked his Excellency, the Marquis de Croix, and two broken ones that I sent to San Blas to be cast for me.

Although I wrote about this to his Excellency and to the commissary mentioned, the bells came directed to Don Pedro Fages, and Señor Trillo did not reply to me on the subject. When I wished to dispose of them the officer told me that they had come to him without any order, and that he would do whatever he pleased with them. Moreover, our letters are enclosed at San Blas in the packages for the officer, so that no one can receive any except by his hand, and we receive them however and whenever he pleases, as I could tell your Excellency by word of mouth. The notice that comes to us from this College says that they are sending mail to him and he will give it to us; so that we have to make out the receipt, not to the captain of the bark, but to him.

In regard to the food for the year, and the other little things that we ought to have, at least to give to the Christian boys and girls, there might be much to write, but I only say that our poverty is great, and that never have we friars been so humiliated, nor the commander better treated than since we and his Grace have been in Monterey. May our poverty be endured for the love of God, and may his triumph, which I do not envy him, do him good! What I do desire and ask for is the maintenance of the

missions, and the ability to give a mouthful to the Christians and catechumens, and to augment Christianity. Only two California Indians have remained with me in my mission at San Carlos, for I distributed the rest among the other missions. When the distribution was made in San Diego of what was sent with the pack train to Monterey, I begged him to let it be entered on the account of those Indians, but he replied that he was not giving anything for Indians, and that if he wished to throw them out he would throw them out.

In short, it seems to me most necessary that the alms which are given us by the piety of your Excellency and of the king, our master, whom God save, without which at present we could not maintain ourselves nor the missions subsist, shall go from here assigned and designated. I have already shown in the letter cited that the missions of San Diego and San Gabriel are worse provided for this year with the arrival of two ships than they were last year with one, the reason being that last year what was to be given to San Diego was decided here, on condition that the packet *San José* had not arrived, and in fact it never arrived.

16. Since your Excellency sent by the last barks a forge to the mission of San Diego, which, after many disputes, I succeeded in getting the officer to deliver, it remains for your Excellency to send a blacksmith to them, for one is badly needed, both on the barks when they arrive, for they always require

some repairs of that sort, and at a mission so remote as that of Monterey. If, for instance, an ax or a hoe is broken in working, there is nothing to do but lay it aside, for to send it to the presidio of Monterey to be mended, which is the only place where there is a forge and blacksmith, would be a matter of a year, for even at my mission, which is only a step away, an ax, which might be mended in a quarter of an hour, is usually kept for many weeks, and our work is consequently delayed.

17. On account of what I have just said, I ask your Excellency for a new forge, with a blacksmith, which, placed at the mission on the Carmelo River, would serve also for the missions of San Antonio and San Luís, by which means, besides being better served, we could set recently converted[10] boys to learn the trade. This petition has been urged upon me by the fathers of those missions in their last letters, for they are weary of struggling with the presidio, where, although the commander has not absolutely refused to do the work, it has been done very slowly not a few times, but many. With a blacksmith at San Diego the repairing can be done there for the neighboring missions, and with one at Carmelo for the two named, San Antonio and San Luís.

18. I beg your Excellency, in order to equip these two forges, to order sent and delivered to the two missions a considerable amount of iron, part in round bars and part in flat sheets, plainly addressed

to the missions, so that it may not cost us a new struggle to get it, because of the claims of the presidio.

19. Two carpenters are as necessary as the two[11] blacksmiths, one for the missions near Monterey, and the other to be placed at the mission[12] of San Gabriel de los Temblores, to which San Diego and San Buenaventura may have resort, and both of them should be supplied with the tools of their trade. All of this may be easily done if your Excellency will entrust it to some person from Guadalaxara, the one who seems best to you, and from there the two blacksmiths and the carpenters may set out with their supplies, being given to understand that the supplies are not for them but for their respective missions.

20. In view of the custom that his Majesty, whom God save, has of giving two bells to each one of the missions newly founded, a large and a small one, two are lacking at present for the already founded mission of San Gabriel, two for that of Santa Clara, and two more for that of Our Father San Francisco when it shall be founded. And if from these four cast at San Blas the officer should appropriate one for the presidio there would be one lacking for the mission of San Luís. For this reason I beg that your Excellency may be pleased to order that the four bells which lately went to Monterey shall be delivered to me, and that three be sent for the three missions mentioned. And if your Excellency should be pleased

to send one more, to be placed in the presidio to ring the Ave Marías for Mass, I would esteem it highly, and would place it there without fail.

In regard to this matter I will add that, having seen the four bells cast at San Blas, and compared the expense which they have occasioned with that which would have resulted from the purchase and freight charges if they had been bought here in Mexico, I find that the saving from casting them there does not amount to much. Indeed, it would be better to take them already made from this city, for the truth is those bells are very crude and ugly, although I can say nothing of their sound because I have not seen them hung up and tested.

21. As it has also been the custom of his Majesty, whom God save, to give the vestments, sacred vessels, and other ecclesiastical ornaments pertaining to the administration of the holy sacraments, to the missions that are newly founded, his Excellency the Marquis de Croix charged each of the commissioners to collect, from the sacristies which were respectively assigned to the expelled religious of the Company of Jesus, in a large box and well packed, all the articles of this class mentioned in the list sent to them by his Excellency. The result was that when I examined the five boxes that came to me at Monterey for the five new missions, I found that two of them were not merely respectable but very valuable and fine; of these one is destined for the mission of Our Father San Francisco, and the other for that

of Santa Clara. But of the other three, which I delivered to the missions of San Antonio, San Luís, and San Gabriel, the vestments are all old, torn, and indecent, except for the fact that the commissioner who packed the box for the mission of San Antonio took the trouble to have them all mended, and to have all the white vestments both washed and mended, so that it all might go, although poor and old, at least neat; but the vestments for the other two missions are in rags, dirty, and in every way unserviceable.

For this reason I was compelled to give out of the vestments of Monterey three chasubles of some splendor to those three missions, each its own, so that they might celebrate with some decency, but with frontals and chasubles of other colors I cannot supply them. Consequently I beg that your Excellency will order that either from those of the expelled fathers which are to be distributed, or by having new ones made at the factory, those missions shall be supplied with decent vestments, and that some pieces which are lacking for the mission of Santa Clara, as is stated in the attached lists, shall be provided. I do not doubt that this step would be quite in harmony with the purpose and will of our Catholic monarch, who, always zealous for divine worship, has never stopped at expense to advance it.

22. I beg that your Excellency may be pleased to give strict orders to the commander not to interfere with communication between us friars and our[13]

College by letters, strictly forbidding him to open them or send them astray, and ordering that whenever couriers are to be sent he shall inform us in sufficient time to enable us to write properly. And I humbly beg your Excellency that these letters of ours shall be delivered to our College free of charge for the messenger; for the reverend father guardian of the College tells me that the charge for this purpose is very heavy, and as the missions have no other fund but the very small allowance given us as alms by the king, my master, whom God save, it seems hard that we immediately have to squeeze it out from this same allowance in order that news may be had of us and the state of those missions. And if military gentlemen are excused from this charge, who are more military than we, who are always in the field and as near the arrows as any soldier?

23. I request that the measures at San Blas shall be regulated so that there shall be twelve almuds to a fanega, as is customary, and that they shall not deliver to us at the missions, as they have done up to now, nine and a half or ten almuds to the fanega, for we have to certify that we have received so many fanegas, and when they see the receipts here they make the accounts very different from what the facts are in reality.

24. I beg that when these measures have been regulated, a complete set of them shall be ordered made at San Blas, as follows: a half fanega, a quarter fanega, an almud, a half almud, and a quarter

almud, for each of the missions, and that they shall go sealed, as is customary in Mexico and other parts, as proof of their legality. By this means, at present and in future what is given and received will go on a fixed basis, and frauds, which might occur without this arrangement, will be prevented.

25. I believe it will be a good thing if your Excellency shall be pleased to seriously charge the commissary at San Blas to take more care than he has up to this time about the condition of the provisions that he sends for the maintenance of those missions and the presidio. If the corn is put on board already damaged and worm-eaten, and I say the same in regard to the rest of the provisions, in what state will it arrive there, and how will it be when it comes to be used? That which has been put on board fresh and good has arrived there in the same condition, but sometimes, when we have received it in a very damaged condition, the captain of the bark has replied to us that it was already that way at San Blas.

Of meat last year there was none, and what has lately arrived this year has been so worm-eaten and worthless that, not[14] without foundation, the opinion has been formed that it must be the meat that should have gone the year before, and on the pretext that there was no room in the bark it was neither little nor much. There is nothing that is more plentiful in the neighborhood of San Blas than cattle, and yet in spite of that, although they were

assigned from the beginning, as a part of the daily ration, a half a pound, or six ounces, of meat, it will soon be two years since the poor men have tasted any other than what they have obtained from the heathen or by hunting.

But the chief pity this last year has been in respect to the flour, which is the most useful and necessary article among all that have gone or may go. It went in any kind of common sack of agave fibre, and consequently it sifted out at every movement or touch, so that the loads arrived noticeably diminished. And it may easily be imagined how much more diminished they will be, when they arrive at their respective missions over the long roads that intervene, and how much expense will be occasioned by what is lost, which is the best, as well as by what is saved. If your Excellency would be pleased to order that this commodity shall go under the same conditions as those under which it was ordered sent in the previous year by his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, all losses would be avoided, and with the same number of loads there would be enough to eat for a much longer time.

26. I again remind your Excellency that all the missions are in the greatest need of mules, so that those which are somewhat remote from the ports are totally unable to carry from them their respective supplies and provisions. If the commander of the presidio had not taken away from the two missions of San Carlos and San Diego those that the governor

gave them at the beginning, as I say in the letter quoted, and in regard to which I await the required order from your Excellency, the two missions mentioned could assist the neighboring ones. But the mules have all been absorbed by the presidio, where, with their simultaneous and in great part superfluous packing, they are about to use them up, a work in which the deserters assist, with those that they carry off, and the heathen, with those which they have eaten. Consequently it seems to me very important that your Excellency shall take such measures in the matter as may seem best to you, and especially that mares and jennies shall be placed there for breeding, for otherwise we shall never get out of our poverty in this particular.

27. I pray your Excellency to have delivered to me the cattle that were assigned in the partition to the two missions of Our Father San Francisco and Santa Clara, with the increase that they have had since the day of the partition, as I also asked in the letter cited, for it is to be believed that we will take better care of them at the missions[15] than they do at the presidio, and we will also have more milk to support the Christians, which is almost the only aliment that up to now we have been able to give them.

28. I call to the attention of your Excellency the fact that at the beginning of the expedition a surgeon named Don Pedro Prat was assigned to it. When we went to Monterey the bark carried a large

quantity of medicines, so that the surgeon, reserving what was necessary for the presidio, might distribute to the missions what he thought best, writing in a memorandum book the virtues of what he gave them, and how and when each medicine ought to be applied. But we had the misfortune that no sooner was the port of Monterey found than the surgeon lost his mind. He remained one year in the presidio, but totally demented; he was afterwards sent away in the bark, and finally died in the hospital of the Bethlemite Fathers at Guadalaxara. The medicines are there; and if your Excellency should be pleased to send another surgeon in place of the one deceased, there would be the consolation of being able to minister blood-letting to any who might need it, and of having some one to cure a wound, a sore, or any other illness to which the knowledge and skill of that official may extend.

29. I pray your Excellency, for the consolation of the poor creatures, to grant leaves of absence to five of the volunteer Catalonian soldiers who reside at Monterey but were married in Spain, to another in doubt whether he is married or a widower, and to another who is totally invalided. They are the following: Sergeant Juan Puig, married; Gerónimo[16] Planes, married; Valentin Planells, married; Pablo Ferrer, married; Francisco Bombau, married; Domingo Malaret, in doubt; Domingo Clua, invalid.

And I ask your Excellency for the same favor for three Leather-jackets who were married in very

remote parts, and have been a long time absent from their families. First, Miguel de Islas, a respectable Spaniard, married in Mexico, where his wife and one daughter live, from whom he has now been absent seven years. Second, Juan Antonio Coronel, mulatto, married in Sinaloa, and many years absent from his consort. The third was married in San Luís Potosí. His appellation is Zambrano; I do not remember his given name, but I know that he is married and that he makes us a lot of trouble there.

In respect to these three, as well as to the preceding, I believe it would be very agreeable to God if your Excellency would be pleased to grant them permission to return to their homes.

30. I also beg your Excellency to determine upon some reward for those soldiers or those who are not[17] soldiers who may marry new Christian daughters of that country. In regard to this matter the visitor-general repeatedly charged Don Pedro Fages, but I have not been able to learn in what terms or upon what conditions. But however it may be, I am of the opinion that one who marries in this way will remain at the mission of his consort, and will not go moving around to others. Let him be given for the present a mule to go about on, if he has none, and after one year or somewhat more in the service of the mission in planting the land, let him be given from the herds of the king a couple of cows and a mule, or whatever may seem best to your Excellency. And in time we might assign to

them a piece of ground, so that they may plant for themselves, since there is nothing else to give them.

31. I supplicate your Excellency, when a new commander is placed at the presidio of Monterey, that he be given power, in the name of your Excellency by a decree[18] which you will be pleased to issue for the purpose, to proclaim a general pardon for the deserters, if any of them should be yet found scattered among the heathen, so that the danger of inquietude among the heathen and the perdition of the wretched wanderers and Christian renegades may be avoided, and so that this example of the great mercy of your Excellency towards those miserable criminals may serve as a consolation to all.

32. Finally, in conclusion of so many petitions, all directed toward the one end stated at the beginning of this long writing, I humbly pray, in regard to the measures which your Excellency may be pleased to issue in consequence of these representations, that you will order that I be given a duplicate or literal copy of all of them for my guidance and that of the other missionaries, for, if I know exactly what orders your Excellency gives the commissary at San Blas I can call him to account about it if it should be necessary. If I might know what orders are given to the governor of California in regard to the business of sending the cattle for the new missions, or arming and equipping the new soldiers who may come from the capital to Monterey, although at their own expense and from their salary,

or of sending to San Diego or to San Blas the loads spoken of in article four of the present writing, or any other orders that he may receive from your Excellency, I can take the same step.

And I request the same especially in regard to all the measures, orders, and instructions that may be given to the commander of the presidio of Monterey; for, if I have specific knowledge of them your Excellency may rest assured that neither I nor the other friars will attempt to do anything that may be contrary to them in the smallest degree, which might happen if we were ignorant of them.

In short, your Excellency will be pleased in this to decide, order, and command what seems best to you, for I have every confidence in your great wisdom and zeal, and am sure that whatever seems right to you will always be for the best. I desire to receive your decision in regard to this as soon as possible, so that I may be able to take the road with it for that poor vineyard of the Lord, considering that on account of the broken health in which I find myself it will be necessary for me to proceed slowly. And, just not to stop asking until the very end, if your Excellency would order that I be given some alms for the expenses of the journey I would receive it as a special new favor and grace.

May our Lord spare you the many years that my deep affection desires for your Excellency in His holy love and grace.

Apostolic College of San Fernando of this Court of Mexico, March 13, 1773.

Most excellent Sir, the most humble servant and chaplain of your Excellency, who venerates you, kisses your hands.

FRAY JUNÍPERO SERRA.

On the 15th this writing was presented by the reverend father president to his Excellency, who, after acquainting himself with its contents, called for the 6th of May a council of war and royal exchequer, in order to decide upon the thirty-two points contained in this representation. It was held, and the decision arrived at is stated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

DECISION OF HIS EXCELLENCY AND THE ROYAL COUNCIL IN REGARD TO THE PETITIONS OF THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT

In virtue of the decree of his Excellency that a discussion should be held in the royal council of war and exchequer concerning the points of the representation made to the superior government by the reverend father president, the gentlemen composing it assembled, and they decided what is stated in the following copy, which is taken from the one certified by the secretary of the government, which came to this mission:

Decision of the Royal Council of War and Exchequer

In the royal council of war and exchequer, which was ordered convoked and held to-day by his Excellency the viceroy of this kingdom, Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, Henostrosa, Lazo de la Vega Villacis y Córdoba, knight commander of La Bóveda de Toro in the order of San Juan, lieutenant-general of the royal armies of his Majesty, viceroy,

governor and captain-general of this New Spain, president of the royal audiencia, general superintendent of the royal exchequer, president of the council of tobacco, conservator of this branch, and general sub-delegate of the department of maritime mails in this kingdom; with the attendance of the gentlemen Don Domingo Valcárcel y Formento, of the council of his Majesty in the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies, knight of the order of Santiago, deacon of this royal audiencia, general superintendent of the quicksilver ships, and auditor de guerra; Don José Rodríguez del Toro, knight of the order of Santiago, sub-deacon of this royal audiencia, special judge of the royal drainage canal of Huehuetoca and of the property and revenues of this most noble city; Señor Don José Antonio de Areche, of the same council and fiscal in the same royal audiencia; the gentlemen, Don Crisóstomo de Barroeta and Don Santiago Abad, the former of the council of his Majesty in the royal exchequer and regent of the tribunal and royal audiencia of accounts of this New Spain, and the latter auditor of the chief table of that royal tribunal; Don Pedro Toral Valdez, auditor, and Don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez de Herrera, factor, both royal officials of this court; Don Fernando Mangino, auditor-general of royal tributes, and Don Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, also auditor of royal excises.

The report of the reverend father president of the missions of San Carlos de Monterey, San Diego,

and those intervening, Fray Junípero Serra, which he made on the 13th of March of the current year, setting forth in it thirty-two points, was set down word for word in writing.

1. The first is reduced to stating that it is immediately necessary that a pilot and a second pilot shall go from Vera Cruz to conduct the packet named *San Carlos* to Monterey, as there is no pilot left in San Blas but the frigate alférez and commander Don Juan Pérez and the second pilot Don José Cañizares.

2. The second, that the frigate referred to shall be equipped as quickly as possible, because on account of its capacity it can in one voyage, together with the two packets, relieve of all necessity the presidio and the missions already founded and to be founded, and keep all the people contented.

3. The third, in which the father president states that he did not collect his stipend last year, but only made the collection for twelve friars, ten of whom are serving at the five missions at present, and the other two are detained in San Diego for the founding of that of San Buenaventura.

4. Fourth, some persons have promised Father Serra to give him some alms of corn and other provisions for the missionary fathers, for which reason he asks that the commissary at San Blas be ordered to receive them on the bark, after any examinations that he may wish to make, and that on the invoices it shall be stated that they belong to those missions

privately, and are not subject to supervision by the commander of the presidio. And he asks the same in regard to some packs which are detained at Loreto, composed of books, statues, crucifixes, and other little ornaments and utensils which were for the personal use of the friars of that college; and if they cannot be taken by land to San Diego he asks that the governor of California may send them by sea to the port of San Blas, with the same statement that they belong privately to the missions.

5. The fifth, that it seems to him very desirable that permission be given to the captain of the presidio of Tubac for the expedition which he has offered to make to look for a road to the port of San Diego or that of Monterey; and, if his Excellency thinks well of it, that he give orders to some officer of New Mexico to undertake the same thing, because, by going from Santa Fé directly west, with a slight declination to the south, Monterey will be found, and by opening this communication the conquest and well-being of those missions will be hastened.

6. The sixth, that it seems very important to him that the officer, Don Pedro Fages, be removed or retired from the command of the presidio of Monterey and another put in his place, to stop the desertion of soldiers and other people, which has caused and still causes, so much trouble on account of the ill treatment and bad manners of that officer.

7. The seventh, that the officer who may be placed there shall not be from the regular troops, for they are not accustomed to the service of the Leather-jacket soldiers; and that Don José Francisco Ortega is well fitted for the post,[19] by his services as well as by his skill, judgment, and wisdom in the management and command of those soldiers.

8. The eighth, that orders shall be given to the officer who may be destined for the place, that on the first request of the missionary father at any of the missions, he shall remove any soldier or soldiers who may set a bad example, especially in matters of chastity, removing them to the presidio and sending in their places others who are not known to be lascivious or scandalous; and that when the father asks for the removal of the soldiers, it shall not be necessary for him to make known the offense, for in some cases it would not be best to tell it, either because it is secret or because of some other circumstance.

9. The ninth, that the official referred to and the soldiers shall be made to understand that the control, management, chastisement, and education of the baptized Indians and those who may be baptized belong to the missionary fathers exclusively, except in crimes of blood.

10. The tenth, that the number of soldiers needed by those missions is as follows: eight Leather-jackets for San Carlos de Monterey, ten for San Antonio de Pádua de los Robles; ten for San Luís

Obispo de los Tichos; ten for San Gabriel de los Temblores; and thirteen or fourteen for San Diego del Puerto. And on account of the proximity of the channel of Santa Bárbara, he thinks it is very important that the number for San Buenaventura shall be twenty, and for Santa Clara, fifteen.

11. The eleventh, that for these soldiers there shall be placed at the presidio of Monterey, their headquarters, a warehouse of goods with a regulation of prices and the form of payment, closing their accounts with the warehouse of Loreto, which, because of the distance, is inconvenient for them; and that their annual pay shall be increased.

12. The twelfth, that those missions shall be provided with some peons for the cultivation of the land, so that they may raise some crops for their maintenance and advancement; that young men should go from the neighborhood of San Blas in the capacity of sailors in the barks; and among them carpenters, cowboys, farmers, and muleteers, who will be found without much difficulty, to be divided among the missions, four to six in each one; but with the condition that the commander of the presidio shall not have the right to take them away at any time in the year, during which their pay as sailors will run at the auditor's office in San Blas, with free rations at the missions; and if these men, when the year is over, wish to continue, that they be allowed to go on in the same way the next year, but if they wish to return to San Blas with the bark,

that they be not prevented, and that others be found to remain in their places.

13. The thirteenth, that when the cattle go from California to supply the missions of Monterey, some Indian families shall go with the company, voluntarily and with good treatment, to be distributed, two[20] or three at each mission, for in this way they will serve to aid with the work, and also to let the heathen see that there are marriages among Christians.

14. The fourteenth, that according to old custom the missionaries shall select a soldier, free of guard and horse duty, who shall not be taken away without serious cause, which shall be made known to the missionary; the soldier to look after the farm work and other tasks of the mission.

15. Fifteenth, he prays in his own name and that of all the missionaries that whatever is given to the missions for their support for the following year shall go marked as separate from that which is for the commander of the presidio and the escorts. And he complains that the letters for the missionaries are enclosed at San Blas within those of the commander, so that they cannot receive any except by his hand, and that they receive them however and whenever he pleases, as he could make known by word of mouth; that the provisions are distributed by the commander, who says they are sent to him, and he gives them what he pleases, and the receipt has to be made out to him instead of to the captain of the bark.

16. The sixteenth, since there is a forge at the mission of San Diego, he asks that a blacksmith be sent, on account of the lack of one for the barks, which always need some repairs, and because the mission of Monterey is so remote, for when an ax or hoe is broken, if it is sent to Monterey to be mended many weeks elapse before it is mended.[21]

17. The seventeenth, that a blacksmith shall be sent, with a forge, to the mission of Carmelo, to serve also San Antonio and San Luís, where some newly converted boys can be placed to learn the trade.

18. The eighteenth, that for the equipment of those forges a considerable supply of iron, part in round bars and part in flat sheets, shall be sent and delivered to those missions, with the statement that it is going to the missions named.

19. Nineteenth, that on account of the need of carpenters, two shall be sent, one for the missions near Monterey and the other for the mission of San Gabriel de los Temblores, to which those of San Diego and San Buenaventura can have recourse, and that to both shall be given the tools of their trade.

20. Twentieth, in view of the fact that his Majesty gives to each newly founded mission two bells, one large and one small, and since two are lacking for San Gabriel, which is already founded, and four for Santa Clara and San Francisco when they shall be founded, and since there are four at

Monterey, he begs that three more pairs be sent and delivered for the missions mentioned.

21. The twenty-first sets forth the lack of vestments in those missions, and asks, by the list that accompanies his paper, for five chasubles for San Luís Obispo, one white, another scarlet, another green, another purple, and another black; five frontals in color and material to match the chasubles; three copes, white, purple, and black, and of the same material as the chasubles; one pallium and a cape with its stole. For San Gabriel the same pieces as the preceding. For San Antonio three chasubles, white, scarlet, and black, with three similar frontals, a pallium, and a cape with its stole. For the mission of Santa Clara a set of three silver urns with their little box, a small salt cellar of the same metal for the baptisms; a Roman ritual with the Toledan appendix, and two surplices.

22. The twenty-second, that the officer be ordered not to interfere with communication by letter between the missions and the College, strictly prohibiting him from opening them and sending them astray; and that before mails are sent the friars shall be notified in time to write to their satisfaction; and that the letters shall be delivered to the College and to the missionaries free and without charge for carriage.

23. The twenty-third, that the measures at San Blas shall be regulated in such a manner that a fanega shall contain twelve almuds, as is customary, and that goods shall not be delivered to the missions,

as they have been up to this time, with only nine and a half or ten and a half almuds to the fanega.

24. The twenty-fourth, that when these measures have been regulated, orders shall be given to have made at San Blas an entire set of them, consisting of a half fanega, a quarter fanega, an almud, a half almud, and a quarter almud, for each of the missions, and that they shall go sealed.

25. Twenty-fifth, that the commissary at San Blas be ordered to be more careful than he has been hitherto as to the condition of the provisions that he sends for the support of those missions and that presidio, for if the corn be put on board already worm-eaten, and the same with the vegetables, how will it arrive at Monterey, and in what condition will it be when it is to be used? The meat that went this last year, in addition to not being much, the father president found so worm-eaten and spoiled that it is presumed that it was the meat that was to have gone, but did not go, the preceding year. But it was in the matter of the flour that the greatest misfortune happened this last year, since it is the most useful and fundamental thing needed, for it was sent in common sacks of agave fiber, and at every movement it sifted out, so that the loads arrived noticeably diminished.

26. The twenty-sixth, that all the missions are in extreme need of mules, and that it would be an advantage if some mares and jennies were put there for breeding.

27. The twenty-seventh, that the stock which was assigned to the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara shall be delivered to the father president with its increase, since it will be better cared for at the missions than at the presidio, and the friars will have somewhat more milk with which to support the Christians, the only aliment which they have been able to give them there.

28. The twenty-eighth, he asks for a surgeon, since Don Pedro Prat, who was assigned at the beginning of the expedition, died insane.

29. The twenty-ninth, that leave of absence be given to ten soldiers, five of them Catalonian volunteers, married in Spain, another in doubt as to his widowerhood, another totally invalided, and the other three Leather-jackets, married in very remote parts.

30. The thirtieth, that some premium be given to soldiers, or those who are not soldiers, who may marry the daughters of that land, newly-made Christians.

31. The thirty-first, that when the new commander is placed at Monterey he shall have power to proclaim a general pardon to deserters.

32. The thirty-second, and last, that he be given a copy of what may be decided in regard to the points stated, for his guidance and that of the rest of the missionaries, in order not to err or to violate in any manner whatever what may be decided. And he asks for some assistance to pay the expense of his journey.

His Excellency set forth article 29 of the regulations and instructions for the presidios that are to be formed on the line of the frontier of this New Spain, decreed by his Majesty in his royal order of the 10th of September of last year, 1772. In this his Majesty is pleased to declare that the presidios of the continent and their annual allowances having been regulated (the two interior ones of Sonora, which are to exist only until the conquered Indians are permanently settled in towns, being subject in everything to the said regulations), for the time being those of California shall remain[22] on the present footing, in conformity with the measures issued by his Excellency after the conquest was extended to the port of Monterey. And in respect to the sum which he had prudentially assigned, he was pleased to order that the allowance shall continue to be paid at the end of each year by the royal treasury of Guadalaxara, as lately has been done; and that his Excellency shall sustain and aid in every way possible the old and the new establishments of that province and inform his Majesty of everything that he may order helpful and useful for the promotion, settlement, and support[23] of the many missions for heathen Indians, it being his royal will that these established rules shall be observed, fulfilled, and executed, without opposition to them in any way being permitted.

It was therefore resolved by common agreement in regard to the third point (as his Excellency had

already taken measures in the matter of the first, and had issued orders in respect to the second) that the father president should be paid his salary for the present year the same as though he had been at the mission; and as to the fourth[24] it was resolved that the commissary of San Blas should receive on the bark, whenever there is one, the alms and consignments of corn and other food promised to Father Serra for the missionary fathers, with as many examinations as he pleases, but with the statement in the invoices that it belongs exclusively to the missions, and is not subject to the official of the presidio. And as far as concerns the tierces that are held in the presidio of[25] Loreto, which are composed of books, images, crucifixes, and other ornaments and utensils, let the governor of California be ordered not to prevent, but rather to facilitate, their despatch to the missions.

As to the fifth and sixth, in regard to giving permission to the captain of the presidio of Tubac for the expedition to look for a road to the port of San Diego or that of Monterey, and in regard to giving an order also to some one in New Mexico to undertake the same business, it will be taken account of in its own file of documents, which runs separately. And in the matter of the removal of Don Pedro Fages, on account of his bad manners and his ill-treatment of the soldiers, his Excellency the Viceroy will take upon himself alone the measure required, as he will do also in regard to the request

that the person put in his place shall not be from the regular troops.

As to the eighth, that the officer who may be appointed shall be ordered by his Excellency, upon the first petition that any of the missionary fathers of those missions may make, to cause the soldier or soldiers who are setting a bad example to be removed and to retire them to the presidio, sending another or others in his place, without its being necessary for the missionary father who may ask this to expose the offense, his Excellency will expedite the necessary orders to this effect.

In respect to the ninth, that the management, control, and education of the baptized Indians pertains exclusively to the missionary fathers, it was declared that it ought to be thus in all economic matters, just as a father of a family has charge of his house and of the education and correction of his children, and that the governor of California should be advised to preserve harmonious relations and communication with those missionary fathers.

As to the number of soldiers which the father president says are needed in those presidios, which is treated of in the tenth point, decision is reserved until he makes a separate report, lessening the number, since what he proposes is considered excessive, and he must do this as quickly as possible, so that he may be soon restored to the service and care of those spiritual conquests.

In the matter of the eleventh, concerning a warehouse of goods, schedule of prices, and headquarters, about which he spoke, it was resolved to keep this point in mind in the regulations that are to be formed.

In regard to the peons to cultivate the land with whom the missions ought to be provided, and the recommendation that they should go in the capacity of sailors from the vicinity of San Blas, that they be distributed, that the commander of the presidio may not remove them during the year which they are to work, and that he shall leave those who may wish to continue into the following year and not interfere with those who wish to return, it was so decided, with the condition that they shall not coerce them to remain at work, and that it shall be without prejudice to the crew that the ship may need for the return voyage.

In the matter of the thirteenth point, that some families of Indians should go with the company that takes the cattle from California, voluntarily and with good treatment, to be distributed among the missions, decision was postponed until some inquiry might be made in this very serious matter.

What the father president treats of in point fourteen of his report, that each missionary ought to have a soldier assigned to him to assist in the farm work and other tasks of the mission, is also reserved until the regulation is formed.

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Concerning the fifteenth point it was resolved that what is given to the missions and is taken by the barks for their maintenance in the succeeding year, shall go separately marked, and that the commission at San Blas shall be thus advised by his Excellency.

As to the letters which are sent from here to the fathers, let these letters not be enclosed in those of the officer in that command, so that in this way the friars may receive them promptly and shall not be injured in this matter.

As to the wish of that officer to have the receipt in his name and not in that of the captain who takes the provisions to them, this matter was reserved until the formation of the regulation.

And in regard to the blacksmiths and forges for the mission of Carmelo, the iron that they need, and carpenters, whose usefulness the father president reports, and the request that one forge be established at Monterey and another at San Gabriel, in view of the lack of them for the barks and the distance of the missions, it was resolved also in common accord that these blacksmiths and carpenters should be sent. For this purpose let an order be despatched to the city of Guadalaxara, instructing Don José de Trigo to look for them, taking special care that those carpenters shall be of the best, and shall be married, and let an order be sent to Don José Echeveste to include the iron in the consignment that is being prepared, and at the same time to send the

forge and blacksmith to the mission of Carmelo named.

In regard to the twentieth point, let the bells be given to Father Serra, those at Monterey and also those at San Blas, and let the number that are lacking for those missions be made up to him, for which purpose let the corresponding order be expedited to Don José del Campo Viergol.

In the matter of the twenty-first point of his report, concerning the need of vestments that he speaks of, his Excellency will provide for their delivery in accordance with the list which he sends with it.

In regard to the twenty-second, that the missionaries shall not be prevented from holding communication among themselves by letters, and with the apostolic College of San Fernando of this capital, and that the official shall not open them, or allow them to be opened, or miscarried, and that he shall notify the fathers in sufficient time when mail is going, and that they shall be delivered without any charge for carriage to the College and missionaries, all this was granted, on condition that the delivery be solely of the letters pertaining to the new establishment of those missions.

Concerning points twenty-three, twenty-four, and twenty-five, it was resolved that the measures shall be regulated in the manner stated by the father president, and an entire set be made of them as he asks, and that the commissary of San Blas shall

NAZARETH COLLEGE
LIBRARY

be more careful in the future that the provisions shall be in good condition, for it is very sad and contrary to equity and justice that the poor friars should receive the grain worm-eaten, the meat spoiled, and the flour short. For this reason let the corresponding order be sent to the commissary of San Blas by his Excellency.

And in regard to the need of mules which Father Fray Junípero Serra sets forth in the twenty-sixth point, it will be kept in mind in the regulation that will be formed.[26]

Likewise it was resolved that the cattle which were assigned for the missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara should be delivered to the father, so that they may be better cared for in the missions, and that they may supply the recently baptized children with the milk.

On account of the need for a surgeon that he speaks of, it was resolved to direct Don José Echeveste to look for one, this being so important in those remote countries for the cure and consolation of those fathers and the rest of the people who may need it, but that his Excellency himself would decide in regard to the leave of absence for the soldiers treated in point twenty-nine.

And in the respect to the reward spoken of in point thirty, to be given to the soldiers who may marry new Christian daughters of that country, decision is reserved for the formation of the new regulation.

It was decided that the commander of the new presidio should proclaim a general pardon for all the deserters; and that Father Junípero Serra should be given the certified copy that he asks for in the last point of his report, of everything resolved in the present council; and likewise of the new regulation that is to be formed as soon as it is finished, when it will be sent to his destination, to which it is prayed and begged that he will soon be restored, for the spiritual conquest of those souls; but that he be not assigned anything for the expenses of the journey, for with the salary that is granted him, even though he has not been at the mission, it is considered that he will be reimbursed for the expenses he may incur.

And it was decided that the father president be urged and charged to send a detailed report as soon as possible of the number of souls in each of those missions, and the state in which he left them when he returned to this capital, and the subsequent information that he may have had in this matter. And, finally, that all the expenses referred to be taken for the present from the pious funds of those missions and from the allowance that is paid from the royal treasury to[27] that Peninsula.

All the above was agreed to and signed by the gentlemen who composed the council:

Mexico, May 6[28], 1773.—Bucareli—Valcárcel—Toro — Areche — Barroeta — Abad — Toral — Valdez — Gutiérrez — Mangino — Arce — José Gorráez.

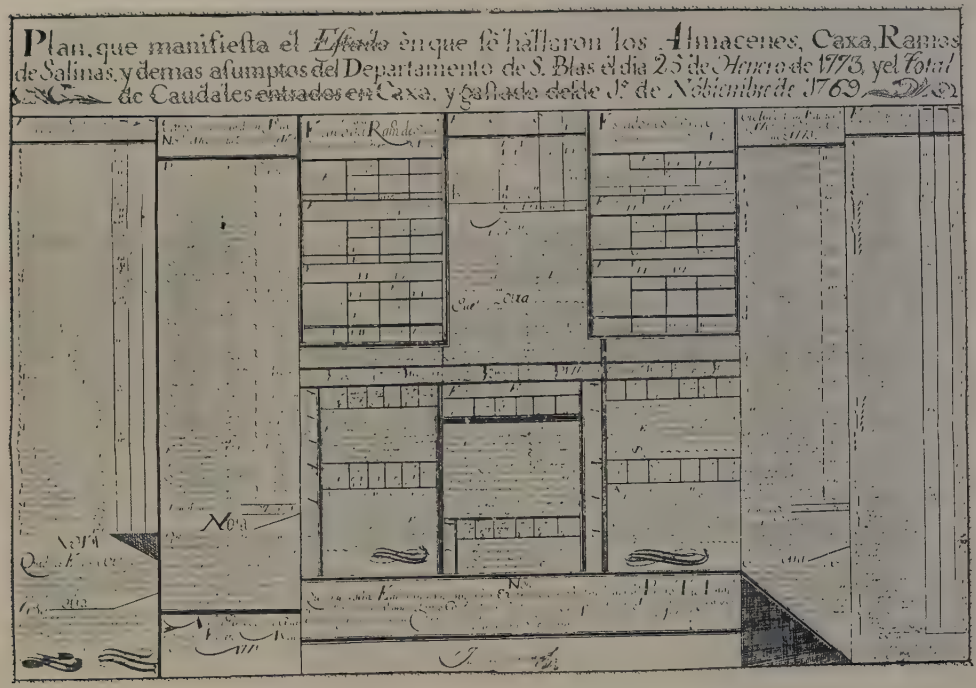
Decree

Mexico, May 12, 1773. Let what was voted in the preceding council be carried out, the necessary decrees and the corresponding orders being issued by my secretary, and let a certified copy in duplicate be drawn up in order to give account to his Majesty.

This agrees with the original, which is in its appropriate file, which I returned to the secretariat of his Excellency the Viceroy, Don Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, and to which I refer.

And so that it may be made known to the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, of the missions of Monterey, I issue the present writing, in virtue of the order given in the present superior decree.

Mexico, May 13, 1773. José de Gorráez.


Plan, que manifiesta el Estado en que se hallaron los Almacenes, Caxa, Ramos
de Salinas, y demas asumptos del Departamento de S. Blas el dia 25 de Henero de 1773, y el Total
de Caudales entrados en Caxa, y gastado desde 1º de Nobiembre de 1769

Balance Sheet for the Department of San Blas, 1773.

Archivo General de Indias.

CHAPTER XXXIX

REGULATION FOR THE PENINSULA OF CALIFORNIA AND THE NEW ESTABLISHMENTS OF MONTEREY

In virtue of the decree of his Majesty of September 10, 1772, cited by the royal council in the preceding paper in order to decide in regard to the thirty-two points of the memorial of the reverend father president, it was determined that for the conservation of Old and New California the allowance of thirty-three thousand pesos annually designated by his Majesty should be given, and that with this amount Old and New California could exist without further expense to the royal exchequer. For this reason orders were given to abolish the settlement of San Blas and to eliminate the expenses of the ships.

The reverend father president found the affairs at Monterey adjusted in this way, but he ascertained that with the above-named sum California could not exist, and on the contrary, that it would be impossible to send succor, since there would be no one to attend to the salaries

and supplies, and that if the settlement of San Blas and the ships were taken away the port would be closed for communication. Anxious for the continuance of the new and old establishments, his Reverence discussed the matter with his Excellency, who, being informed of everything, assembled the royal council of war and exchequer, in which it was decided to form a new regulation, provisionally until account should be given to his Majesty. The gentlemen of the council agreed to entrust the matter to Don Juan José Echeveste, who had been in charge of the provisioning and expense of these new establishments since the first expeditions, urging him to endeavor as far as possible not to encroach upon the royal funds.

In virtue of what was decided and approved by his Excellency, Señor Echeveste prepared the following regulation:

Regulation

Provisional regulation and instruction for the aid and conservation of the new and old establishments of the Californias, and for the Department of San Blas, the observance of which will serve to facilitate the necessary knowledge for the best regulation, promotion, settlement, and extension of the new reductions of the heathen Indians who occupy the northern part of the Californias.

The Troops and their Distribution among Monterey, San Diego, and their Five Missions

MONTEREY

A captain commander, who is to reside in Monterey and have under his orders that entire mainland, subordinate to the governor of the Californias, and is to receive three thousand pesos annually	₱3,000.00
A sergeant, with four hundred and fifty pesos	450.00
Two corporals, with four hundred pesos each	800.00
Twenty-two soldiers, with three hundred and sixty-five pesos each	8,030.00
Two carpenters to serve both the presidio and the missions, three hundred pesos each	600.00
Two blacksmiths at the same wages	600.00
Four muleteers at the same wages	600.00
A warehouse keeper to keep an account and memorandum of the income and outgo of provisions, goods, and clothing, in a book signed with rubric by the captain commander, to whom he must give a regular account, with vouchers for the credits and debits, for which he will enjoy the salary of	1,000.00

SAN DIEGO

A sergeant, with seven hundred pesos annually	₱700.00
A sergeant, with four hundred and fifty pesos annually	450.00
Two corporals, with four hundred pesos each	800.00
Twenty-two soldiers at three hundred and sixty-five pesos each	8,030.00
Two carpenters to serve both the presidio and the missions, with three hundred pesos each	600.00
Two blacksmiths, ditto	600.00
A warehouse keeper to keep an account and memorandum of the income and outgo of provisions, goods, and clothing in a book rubricked by the captain commander, to whom he must report with vouchers for the credits and debits; and he shall enjoy for this work a salary of a thousand pesos annually	1,000.00
Guards of the five missions erected up to the present time:	
Five corporals with four hundred pesos each annually	2,000.00
Twenty-five soldiers with three hundred and sixty-five pesos each annually	9,125.00
	₱38,385.00

The expense for the troops of occupation necessary in the new establishments of Monterey, San Diego, and their five missions amounts to thirty-eight thousand, three hundred and eighty-five pesos, which are to be paid to them at their respective posts in clothing and goods at purchase price, increased by one hundred and fifty per cent, from which there will remain the legitimate charge of the fifteen thousand five hundred and ninety-four pesos to the royal exchequer.

Troops and their Duties in Old California

A governor, who is to have under his immediate orders the old and new establishments of the Californias, with the annual pay of four thousand pesos	₱4,000.00
A commissary	1,200.00
A lieutenant, to take care of the troops and their pay, with a salary of five hundred pesos	500.00
A sergeant, with four hundred pesos	400.00
Three corporals, with four hundred and fifty pesos each	1,350.00
Thirty soldiers with three hundred pesos each	9,000.00
	₱16,450.00

The salaries of the governor, the commissary, and the troops of Old California amount to sixteen thousand, four hundred and fifty pesos, which,

reduced by the five thousand, five hundred pesos belonging to the officers, so that they may draw them wherever they please, the expense amounts to ten thousand, nine hundred and fifty pesos, which, paid on that Peninsula in goods and other things that they need for their subsistence, with the rebate of the hundred* per cent to which they have been accustomed, will come to five thousand, four hundred and seventy-five pesos legitimate cost to the royal exchequer, and with the stated salaries of the governor and commissary, ten thousand, eight hundred and seventy-five pesos.

DEPARTMENT OF SAN BLAS

COMMISSARIAT

A commissary in whose charge shall be all the business of the department, arsenal, equipment of ships with stores of goods and provisions, and under whose immediate orders everything shall be administered of which account ought to be given to this superior government, as will be said; and he shall enjoy a salary of three thousand pesos..₱3,000.00

An accountant to keep the accounts and records, with the detail and clarity required by the expense occasioned by each commission and branch, and the commissary of the department shall de-

* Fifty per cent is clearly meant here.

liver it, with his inversion, to the official paymaster and warehouse keeper, for which purpose he will have a book signed with rubric by his Excellency the Viceroy and he will enjoy a salary of one thousand, five hundred pesos annually ..... ₱1,500.00

An official paymaster and warehouse keeper, who will have all the interests and goods of the department and the tariff in his charge and custody, under three keys, distributed among the commissary, the auditor, and himself, so that the receipt, the payment, and expenditure of money and goods shall be made accurately, by warrants, catalogues, and lists, in the required legal forms, for which work he will enjoy the salary of one thousand, five hundred pesos 1,500.00

Three official scribes, two for the auditor's office, and one for the business of the warehouses, at five hundred pesos each 1,500.00

An official clerk for the commissary, with five hundred pesos 500.00

A chaplain to serve as parochial curate, with fifty pesos monthly and rations 668.00

A sacristan with eighty-six pesos and rations ..... [154.00]

For the annual expense in that department for one hundred and twenty-seven rations for the troops of occupation in Old California, San Diego, and Monterey, and for goods for the missions, at the rate of one and a half reals daily, which remittance of provisions will be made free by the said department	₱8,691.4.06

THE SHIPYARD

A chief wharf master, with an annual salary of one thousand two hundred and sixty-eight pesos, three tomines, and six grains	1,268.3.06
One cooper to work at twelve reals a day	200.00
One rigger, at two hundred and fifty pesos and rations	250.00
One European shipyard master for careening ships and setting masts, to be allowed annually five hundred and sixty-eight pesos, three tomines, and six grains	568.3.06
For careening and masts, ten thousand pesos are allowed annually	10,000.00
	₱29,646.3.06

Note.—The caulkers, carpenters, and other men who serve on the ships ought to be employed at these wages in the work of the warehouse while the ships are laid up for the winter.

Wages of the Crews of the New Frigate and the Packets

THE FRIGATE

A captain and pilot at seventy pesos monthly	₱840.00
A second at fifty	600.00
Rations for both	200.00
A boatswain's mate at twenty pesos a month	240.00
A boatswain at twenty-four pesos a month	288.00
A steward at nineteen	228.00
A carpenter at the same pay	228.00
A caulker at the same pay	228.00
Two cabin boys at six pesos each	144.00
Twenty-seven ship's boys at eight pesos each	2,592.00
Six helmsmen at twelve pesos each	864.00
Thirty sailors at ten pesos	3,600.00
Rations for the seventy men	4,790.00
	₱14,842.0.05

A PACKET

A captain and pilot, at seventy pesos monthly	₱840.00
A second pilot at fifty pesos	600.00
Rations for both	200.00
A boatswain at twenty-four pesos a month	288.00

A boatswain's mate at twenty pesos	₱340.00
A steward at nineteen	228.00
A carpenter at the same	228.00
A caulker at the same	228.00
Two cabin boys at six pesos each	144.00
Six helmsmen at twelve pesos each	864.00
Ten ship's boys at eight pesos	960.00
Seventeen sailors at ten pesos each	2,040.00
Rations for forty men	2,737.00
For annual expenses of another packet	9,597.4.00
Total	₱19,195.0.00

Points Explanatory of this Provisional Regulation

1. Although four years have passed since a beginning was made in Old California of the outfitting of the expeditions made for the exploration of the harbors of San Diego and Monterey, there was no formal information of their complete success until the month of August, 1770, when it was brought by the packet *El Príncipe* on its second return to San Blas, this being the cause of the lack of general regulations. But in establishments so recent, necessitating a voyage through unknown waters, without fixed funds, in order to meet the changes and the serious affairs of a government as vast as that of New Spain, their conduct must necessarily be regulated by time and circumstances. And it must be recognized that the regulations which they have at present they owe to the inimitable zeal and activity

of his Excellency the Viceroy, who anxiously desires and incessantly labors in order that all branches may be subject to and governed by the safe rules of their respective ordinances.

2. Neither the present state of the royal exchequer nor that of the pious fund permits greater extension of the new establishments than they now have and need, and it is necessary to leave for the present the increase of the missions on the basis of the five which have been erected, with a new supply of vestments and sacred vessels pertaining to the ministry, in virtue of the agreement arrived at by the council of war and royal exchequer held on the 6th of the current month, but with the small escort of a corporal and five soldiers, in consideration of the fact that the ports of San Diego and Monterey have an assignment of only fifty men, twenty-five to each, by the order stated in this regulation.

And until time favors a better arrangement it is necessary also that from this small escort shall be supplied any guard required by any other mission that it may be desirable to found during the scarcity of soldiers. But part of the men needed for the purpose may be taken from the mission or missions that promise the greatest security on account of their proximity to the presidios, or for any other reason that may influence them, such, for instance, as the presence of plenty of peons, in virtue of the concession which was agreed upon by the same royal

council permitting those who wished to go from San Blas in the capacity of sailors, for the purpose of cultivating the land.

3. This privilege granted by the royal council is so desirable that it seems to be the most suitable and convenient means for the promotion and settlement of those new establishments, reducing the cost to rations for the term of five years, and the wages of sailors for two years, permission being given also to take the wives on the voyage of the frigate, with the single obligation of binding the men, during the term assigned, to work and labor in the fields. From this will result crops to serve for their entire support, and an example to the Indians, so that they too may provide themselves with all the food required, and thus save the royal exchequer a considerable part of the expenses that are now incurred in providing it.

4. It would also conduce to the better order of these matters to set aside the plan followed formerly and still followed in regard to the goods, provisions, and clothing for the five missions of northern California, in addition to the stipends with which they have been assisted at the rate of seven hundred pesos. Then, from the present year let each mission be paid eight hundred pesos, with double rations for their ministers and any others who may be there in the expectation that other missions will be erected, without any assignment for the costs and expenses borne by the royal exchequer, with the

object that, being free from obligation, this may be found sufficient for the support of both classes. This is in the understanding that the gratification shall amount to one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos and three and a half reals, according to their value in San Blas, where it will be given at that price and for five years and no more, in conjunction with the general remittance, on account of the Pious Fund, as a surplus or part of the stipend, the value of which the Pious Fund must return to the department successively during the time set, during which the missions can doubtless raise crops sufficient for their purpose.

5. In view of the heavy expenses occasioned to the royal funds by the conservation of the old and new establishments of California and the care for their missions, with the contingencies and danger of loss of ships, provisions, and goods in the voyage, it is fitting that, in consideration of the increased pay assigned to those living in them, they shall make up this increase in some part with the prices which, in consideration of all these reasons, are fixed in this regulation for the goods, clothing, and provisions in which their pay is to be made; and the discount, which amounts to one hundred and nineteen thousand, three hundred and forty-two pesos and three reals, does not seem excessive, since all the salaries with which they are paid amount to ninety thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos and three reals; for it corresponds to the rate of one

hundred per cent, which was current and still prevails in Old California, the hundred and fifty per cent in the new establishments being moderated accordingly.

6. The variation of prices caused by the times, according to the abundance or scarcity of goods, clothing, and other things necessary in this business, makes it difficult without regulation to fix for any of the parties just rates which serve to facilitate a fair distribution, and which serve also as a memorandum of the items in the accounts which the commissioners have to give to the tribunal and royal audiencia. This circumstance makes it absolutely necessary that the annual invoices from Mexico and those of the provisions and other articles for sale that are sent from San Blas shall contain two lists. The cost of the goods at the purchase price should be set down on the inner one, which is to serve them while awaiting the voucher as data in regard to the receipt for the amount which they have to collect from the buyer and seller. The exterior list should show the amount which should be remitted at the hundred or hundred and fifty per cent, at which the article is to be sold at the place of its destination, with the care and exactitude required by the knowledge that the prices that they should thus obtain have to be rated in accordance with the legal wage of the consignee, for in this regulation each of the payments made by the commissary of Loreto is stated. And the warehouse keepers of San Diego and Monterey

will also regulate themselves by these lists for wholesale prices, according to the invoice, adjusting the retail price to it; and they shall be held responsible for the charges[29] for the smallest inaccuracy in the part that concerns them and for any excess against just equity, which ought to be given without any apology that would favor them in any court. And to facilitate the operation for both of them, which appears impracticable at first sight, when the account has to be sent in fractional prices, there is adjoined a method for their instruction and guidance, in the supposition that in the operation the whole ought to be transacted in favor of the king, in view of the benefit that is set forth in the preceding chapter, by which the rations are to be given free in that place.

7. The warehouse keepers at San Diego and Monterey must ask every year from his Excellency, through their captain commander, for the goods, clothing, and provisions which they need for their warehouses, according to the quantities which there ought to be in each one, bearing in mind not only what the regulation demands in accordance with the number of people, but also those goods that may be left in those establishments. At the same time the commissary of Loreto must ask for what is needful through his governor, and the one at San Blas must ask for himself.

8. The last-named person will be informed that he should stop entirely the planting of corn in future,

on account of the experience that the climate is unsuitable for keeping it, even for a short time. And so, even what is needed for rationing the people of the department he should buy with this in mind; and what he has to send to California should be sent at the proper time, so that those who are to use it shall not suffer the losses which have been experienced up to now.

9. He will also be charged, in case the pack train, with its complete equipment, is of no use there, to give orders for it to go at the proper time to Old California, with the muleteers who manage it, in order to serve there if there be need of it; and if not, let the governor send it to San Diego after advising the commander of Monterey.

10. In regard to the stock ranch which the department has, from which the meat needed is taken, the commissary must be directed to sell it at the best price possible. If necessary let him make a contract afterwards with the purchaser for what meat may be needed, at the times most likely not to expose the interests of the king to the contingencies of the country, for up to now much loss has been suffered from this cause.

11. The business of the salt, which ought to be sufficient to pay the expenses of this program and those required by the settlement of San Blas, will continue to be in charge of the commissary of that department, according to the instruction of the illustrious Señor Gálvez, which is quoted above,

without his receiving any other salary or reward than that assigned heretofore to the officers. And if it appears that good progress is being made in the business, let credit be given to those agents who may be occupied in the administration, of which the commissary ought to present the corresponding certified account to the tribunal and royal audiencia of accounts within the terms of the law and with the formalities prescribed by it.

12. In the same terms and form he must make a general report of the department, with the detail and clarity indispensable for the management of goods and provisions which are given out and received by the warehouse and coffers in kind, in payment of salaries, day wages, the purchase of goods and provisions, the rationing of the people, for the mess for the ships, and for the maintenance of the old and new establishments of California. For this reason, by taking account of stock on hand in coffers and warehouses, and the subsequent entrances into both, account will be given of the consumption in money and goods appraised in the enclosed paper in the order that may be demanded by the branch and commission in whose service they are used, setting down the total cost of each one in the form stated in the paper on the exterior general margin of the account, for the clarity and accuracy of what is distributed by each branch and commission. And with this knowledge demand can legitimately be made of anyone who may be creditor for a

corresponding reimbursement, and the exchange can continue without confusion.

13. Account ought also to be given, approximately according to the same method, by the commander of San Diego and Monterey and the commissary of Loreto, of the goods that may have been sent to them, the first-named being placed in charge of the warehouse keeper, so that in virtue of the knowledge of the legitimate annual consumption, and the supplies on hand left from the consumption at the time of receiving the provisions, the succeeding supply can be regulated and these goods expended in accordance with the prices of the new invoice, making them appear with the certification of the captain who conducts the ship with the new provision and the missionary father of that place, so that, in virtue of the document which is to accompany the account, the tribunal and royal audiencia of accounts may attest them as legitimate. In the liquidation of them each of the commissioners should remit at the first opportunity, setting down the goods on hand as the first item in the account which they may newly form.

14. In the understanding that the regulation is charged with the pay of the crews of the frigate and the two packets, *San Carlos* and *El Príncipe,* and that only these barks shall carry goods necessary for the missions of California, it should be done by alternating the frigate with the packets in the yearly voyages to northern California, so that when

one of the ships winters there it may depart at an opportune time, which in Loreto is from March to May, and leave the appropriate provisions at that presidio, the old missions being left by this arrangement without one ship in the department. Of the packets *Concepción* and *Lauretana,* the sloop *El Pilar,* and the schooner *Sonora,* only the last two barks and some launches are serviceable to use in Old California for the purposes of the service under direction of the governor. For this reason they should go there, with the understanding that in the Gulf there is no need for any other sailors than the people of the Peninsula. And since these ships are not needed there, let an effort be made to sell all of them to the hacienda on account of the king.

15. The laudable objects whose greater success this regulation promotes, require that in the light of them the agent or person to whom the purchases of clothing and goods in this capital are entrusted, in the understanding of these objects, should proceed with the greatest care, economy, and activity, and send his shipment of goods at the proper time, since the same labor and care is exacted from me in this matter as is required in other business of the service to which I am obligated, and the responsibility of the remittances is placed upon me. Let the same reminder be given to the commissary of San Blas, so that he may attend with the same care to seeing that the provisions, grain, and other necessaries are in the best condition for the sus-

tenance, succor, and relief of the faithful vassals of the king living in those parts.

16. Whenever those commissioners send goods to California, they shall give an invoice to this superior government, so that it may be presented in the tribunal and royal audiencia of accounts at the time of taking the respective accounts of the commission from each one. Another shall be given to the governor or commander of the place to which the goods are destined, so that the statement of the effects and provisions may be made in accordance with its contents; and another copy, so that they may enclose it as documentary proof of the list of items in their accounts.

17. The office of the person who is to succeed me in these affairs entails great labor, expense, and responsibility, as is indicated. For this reason, in consideration of these affairs and the pious cause which moves them, I think him entitled to a salary of two thousand pesos annually, with a security of six thousand pesos which he must give to the satisfaction of the royal officials, in virtue of the latest orders of his Majesty issued for this purpose. Notwithstanding the security, his management is closer to that of the proveedores who have funds in their power the short time required for supplying the shipments, than to that of its administrators and other employees, who have subsequent management. When this salary is added to the twenty-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos and

three tomines which the royal exchequer has to pay for carrying on all the business of this regulation, the total will amount to twenty-four thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos, three reals.

This is all that my limited ability, acquired information, and reflections have been able to set forth as necessary in order to be able for the present to establish a fixed rule and economic order for the support of the establishments of which this regulation treats. And if it should meet with the benign approval of his Excellency the Viceroy it would be opportune if his Excellency should order the corresponding copies sent to the royal exchequer, to the governor of the Californias, to the commander of the new establishments, to the commissary of San Blas, and to the person who is to have charge in Mexico of these affairs, so that it may be made known to them and so that each one may observe religiously the part pertaining to him.

Mexico, May 19, 1773.

JUAN JOSÉ DE ECHEVESTE

DECREE OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

Mexico, May 24, 1773.—Let this regulation, which by my order has been drawn up by Don Juan José de Echeveste, be sent to the fiscal, so that, in view of it and of what is recommended by his Majesty in regard to the new establishments of California, and the confusion caused by the multitude of files of

documents which he has examined in the matter since my entrance in this office, the most desirable decision may be arrived at in the council of war and exchequer. Bucareli.

Opinion of the Fiscal

Most Excellent Sir:

The fiscal proceeds to fulfill what is ordered in the foregoing decree in regard to the provisional regulations which, by order of your Excellency, have been drawn up by Don Juan José de Echeveste, bearing in mind the zeal with which the immense Catholic piety of the king favors the new and old establishments of California in his royal decree of the 10th of September, 1772, directed to forming the new cordon of presidios in the interior provinces of this kingdom. And he will touch also in passing upon the other question of the confusion that has been experienced since your Excellency entered upon the service of this command from the multitude of files of documents relative to the same Peninsula, which has not been cleared up yet in spite of the repeated importunities with which your Excellency has desired, and all of which the undersigned has urged.

This provisional regulation, then, is directed to the full and complete maintenance of the new and old missions, as the first object, and of the arms that are to aid them in the pious, holy, and noble plans to make that remote country wholly Catholic, and to

win it all effectually and fully for the crown of our most amiable sovereign. Therefore the fiscal will consider it point by point.

Among the first rules set forth are those for the troops which are to garrison Monterey, San Diego, and the five missions, with the necessary distribution. The pay for these soldiers amounts to thirty-eight thousand, nine hundred and eighty-five pesos; but as it is to be paid in provisions and clothing charged with the corresponding profit, the expense for them will be reduced to fifteen thousand, five hundred and ninety-four pesos. And this will be the case no matter what the clothing and provisions may cost; for in them there may be variation, but there will be none in this saving, generally speaking, because it is produced by adding the hundred and fifty per cent in those places, following the old practice that was observed in California when it was under the care of the expelled Jesuit fathers, and which still continues, being justified by the risks of the sea on which it is founded.

In the same way there are considered also in this regulation the troops and the care which these troops are to take on the Peninsula of what belongs to the old establishments. The expense for this item amounts to sixteen thousand, five hundred and fifty pesos, which, after subtracting five thousand, five hundred pesos for the governor and the commissary of Loreto, which they are to collect wherever and whenever they please, is reduced to ten thousand,

nine hundred and fifty pesos. This pay is to be made in the form stated in clothing and provisions, the profit of a hundred per cent to be added to their cost, for the risk by sea, which is less here than on those shipped to San Diego and Monterey. Thus the sum of the salaries of the troops will amount to five thousand, four hundred and seventy-five pesos, and with those of the governor and commissary to ten thousand, nine hundred and seventy-five pesos.

These provisional regulations also include the necessary expenses of the Department of San Blas and the schedule of rates for the expense of the frigate and the two packets that are necessary for the conduct of the provisions, clothing, and other succor for both the new and the old establishments, which, all together, with the rations of the troops occupied on the Peninsula, amount to sixty-three thousand, nine hundred and seven pesos, three reals, as follows:

For salaries and day wages which are to be paid in San Blas, eight thousand, eight hundred and twenty-two pesos and seven tomines; for those of the warehouse, twelve thousand, three hundred and fifty-five pesos, two tomines, and six grains; for those of the frigate and two packets, thirty-four thousand, thirty-seven pesos and five tomines; for the value of the rations which are to be sent from the port of San Blas to all the Californias, eight thousand, six hundred and ninety-one pesos, four reals and six grains. These items compose the total

already mentioned of sixty-three thousand, nine hundred and seven pesos, and three tomines. Adding to this the fifteen thousand, five hundred and ninety-four of San Diego and Monterey, five thousand, five hundred of the governor and the commissary of Old California, and five thousand, four hundred and seventy-five for the troops, the total expense will be covered by ninety thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos, three reals, as may be seen in the brief resumé which the regulation gives, with the small error of ten pesos.

Don Juan José de Echeveste goes on, after calculating the total expense, to say what the fund should be to meet them, and the fiscal will speak on this subject later, for it is better to go on and deal with the "instructive points" with which these rules are concluded:

In the first point he tells when a beginning was made of the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey, of which news was not received until the month of August, 1770. In the second he takes into consideration the state of the royal hacienda, and that it was advisable to leave the district of San Diego and Monterey on the basis of the five missions already founded. These are well supplied with vestments and sacred vessels, in consequence of the resolution of the royal council of war and royal exchequer held on May sixth, in which it was also agreed that the persons who wish to do so may go to those places from the port of San Blas in the

capacity of sailors for the purpose of settling and cultivating the land.

In the third he explains how useful it would be to give free passage to men who would take their wives and families, with only the cost of rations for five years and pay for two years. Such a measure would delight the people, and the Indians would learn how to work, so that the land would produce the necessary food, and the royal exchequer could save in advance in these occupations the expense that it incurs for rations in transporting those who live there.

In the fourth, in the matter of the ministers of the five new missions of northern California, that is, of San Diego and Monterey, who have been assisted up to the present with a stipend of eight hundred pesos—I should say, of clothing, goods, and provisions for their food and support,—Echeveste is of the opinion that from the time that this regulation is established and enforced, each mission should be assisted with a stipend of eight hundred pesos instead of the seven hundred that they are receiving, in the manner already stated, and that a double ration should be given to the missionaries in them, and to the three other friars who are there awaiting the founding or creation of others, and that this new expense or gift of rations which shall run without discount of any sort for five years and no more, shall amount to the sum of one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos and three reals and a

half, according to their value in San Blas, since it is considered that by this time the missions can raise crops sufficient for their support.

In the fifth he takes up the heavy expenses of the old and new establishments in California; the high salaries allowed to the troops, to their officers, and to others who serve in them, so that it may be an attraction to draw people there to settle them as is desired, and he also observes that these salaries and their payment are exposed to the contingencies of sea and land, to which the fund which is to bear these expenses is exposed in the transportation of the clothing, provisions, and ships. For the same reason he thinks it is just to charge a profit of one hundred and fifty per cent on the goods which are sent to pay the salaries in Monterey and San Diego to all the troops and employees, and a hundred per cent to those who remain in Old California, with the same object.

Thus, looked upon with close attention, it is found that in both places the goods are still sold at prices including the cost and expenses, if one considers the expenditures and risks to which the fund is exposed in conducting them. For example, in order that it may be better understood, and the responsibility better explained, of the branch which has to bear in future the expense of the purchase and transportation of provisions and goods to sustain California, if the consignment sent in one year is lost, the fund will suffer in that case a total loss, and no change

can be made for this reason in the price at which the old and new establishments were to be supplied with clothing and other things already spoken of, including the profit respectively of a hundred and fifty per cent on their purchase price and expense of delivering them at their destinations.

Therefore, in case of this unfortunate imaginary event, the troops and the rest who serve on the Peninsula are not charged anything for the accident. And even though this never happens, the fund does not come out ahead, but is sustained by the assistance given it through the incomparable piety of the king, by the product of the Pious Fund, and by the yield of the salt beds administered on its account. Consequently, according to this illustration, it is truly said that the fund gives the clothing and goods at less cost than their purchase price and the expense of their transportation.

In the sixth point Echeveste suggests a fixed scale of prices to be observed in each consignment of provisions and other things, and the manner in which the respective accounts can be accurately figured.

In the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth, he points out several rules for economy, and the orders that are to be given to the commander, the commissary, and the rest of the employees at San Blas, Loreto, San Diego, and Monterey, with the object that they shall handle these charges honestly, and keep and remit the accounts clearly and accurately.

The fourteenth point gives the plan by which the three ships that remain are to serve, and the duty for which the others are destined, as for example, to take to Old California the mules and horses that are needed for the internal affairs.

From the fifteenth to the last point Echeveste confines himself to asking your Excellency to relieve the fund of the duty of buying the clothing and goods in this capital, and that you shall issue in passing other good regulations for its purchase at the lowest price, when you have disposed of other charges of the royal service in which he understands they occupy you all the time.

Your Excellency has already heard the estimate of expenses, and the other information and directions contained in this provisional regulation, and its seventeen "instructive points." Therefore let your Excellency also listen to the fund which Echeveste indicates, so that they may have effect in the interval until experience opens other roads. This fund, then, he calculates as follows: thirty-three thousand pesos ordered by the king in his resolution of the 10th of September, 1772, shall continue to be paid from his royal exchequer for this purpose; twenty-five thousand pesos which ought to result free from the product of the salt beds which are worked in the department of San Blas, and eleven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos, three reals and a half which the Pious Fund is to contribute from its fruits and produce, which were administered by the

expelled fathers. And to-day his Majesty includes in this last item that of one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos and three reals and a half, a sum that is to be added to the stipend of seven hundred which each mission enjoyed, and the double rations with which their ministers and the three other friars who are in San Diego and Monterey awaiting the erection of others should be assisted.

And as these three items are not sufficient to cover the total of the expenses, besides the fact that the second and third are contingent to some extent, he says that it is necessary for the royal exchequer to bear the twenty-two thousand, four hundred and six pesos, three reals and a half that are lacking, so that the exchequer shall contribute, without counting upon the product of the salt beds, which also belongs to it, thirty-five thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos, three reals and a half, thirty-three thousand pesos being assigned by the royal decree, and the rest which is added for the present until time makes known some other way for the promotion of the spiritual and temporal conquest of all that Peninsula.

This granted, the fiscal remarks that there may be taken from the Pious Fund eleven thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos, three reals and a half, in the order stated, without considering what the fund is, or learning whether there is enough left to pay the salaries of the missions existing to-day in Old and New California in charge of the

reverend Dominican fathers and the apostolic fathers of San Fernando. This sum is not included in this regulation, and it will be well for the director of the Pious Fund to speak of it with all detail, not only as to what the annual income is, but also what there is on hand pertaining to this destination,[30] so that it may be known whether or not the royal exchequer has to supply more than the sum mentioned of twenty-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos, three reals and a half, in order to make up all the expenses of this regulation until the king, to whom account of it will be given, determines otherwise, now that his royal goodness charges your Excellency, in the regulation of the presidios, last article, that support and aid by all means possible be given to the old and new establishments of that Peninsula (he is speaking of the Californias), and that he be informed of everything that may be done conducive to and useful for the formation, settlement, and extension of the new reductions of heathen Indians.

The fiscal did not consider in this regulation the cost of a surgeon whom the royal council of war and exchequer of last May resolved should be sent to Monterey. But he will keep this subject in mind for the time when he finds a suitable person to carry out the plan; and he will then also set the salary, which will cause an increase in expenses, which will not always be the same, although it seems to those here that it can be kept to a certain sum, for everything else has to be calculated with careful judgment.

Perhaps it will also be noticed that nothing is said in these regulations on the point of clothing, arms, and mounts for the troops, nor from what funds the powder is to be paid for. If one carefully considers the salaries assigned to them together with those declared by the king in the regulation of presidios, it is perceived that the mounts, arms, and clothing are to be charged to the account of the soldier, to whom only the powder is to be given, as is directed in article seven, which is another new expense. And in the rest, as far as is practicable, these troops must be ruled by the method set forth in articles three and four and others of the said royal regulation.

There now remains the last part of the decree, in regard to which the fiscal replies to the complaint of confusion noticed in the files of documents relative to California. It is true and reprehensible that the commissaries of San Blas and Loreto and the commander of Monterey have sent confused reports to this government, and their accounts will probably be the same. This point has caused annoyance to your Excellency, and solicitude to him who makes this reply, not knowing the results up to now, nor how they will come out from the annotation that they may suffer in the tribunal of accounts, if any of them have now come. And since this regulation gives a just, accurate and quick plan to make them clear in future, as soon as orders are given for it to be observed, an efficient system may be established

in the missions of that Peninsula, and the state of past accounts known quickly, the confusion of their method having come to an end.

For this purpose your Excellency will give the necessary orders as soon as it is decided by the royal council, as is indicated. And as soon as all the old accounts of the department and commissaries come in your Excellency will direct the same tribunal to annotate and liquidate them as soon as possible, so that the king may receive this just and accurate notice concerning affairs, for the old and new establishments of California merit it. Their commissaries ought to send new reports as soon as the regulation is put into effect, as is directed in the "instructive points," eleven, twelve, and thirteen, of which a copy should be sent to them at the proper time, and as soon as it is approved.

The fiscal has spoken in this manner of all that Don José Echeveste says, and in his opinion nothing is left for him to touch upon, for which reason he concludes by saying that the director of the Pious Fund should prepare the information that is lacking, and this regulation should immediately be taken to the council of war and exchequer, so that these points may be considered there with the attention that the matter merits and Echeveste be relieved, as he asks. And an account should be given to the king with a certified copy of the agreement in which they are discussed.

ARECHE.

Mexico, June 14, 1773.

Decree of His Excellency the Viceroy

Mexico, June 17, 1773.—Let this file of documents be sent to the director of temporalities, Don Fernando José Mangino, so that he may prepare the report spoken of by the fiscal. Bucareli.

Reply of the Director

Most Excellent Sir:

Complying with the superior decree which precedes, and in consideration of the provisional regulation with which this file of papers begins, formed by order of your Excellency by Don José Echeveste, for the purpose of regulating the expenses of the old and new establishments of California, and of which your Excellency has been pleased, at the request of the fiscal, to let me have sight of a copy, as director-general of the Pious Fund destined to the propagation of the faith on that Peninsula, and with attention to the fact that it sets for it the annual allowance of eleven thousand, seven hundred and nine pesos, three tomines, and six grains, besides the pay of the stipends that are to be advanced for the ten missionaries of the five missions at the rate of eight hundred pesos each (for in the first sum are included the one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos and three and a half reals which represent the value of the double rations which are to be supplied to those ministers for the

term of five years, in which regulations are included three other friars who are in San Diego and Monterey awaiting the erection of new missions, who, in the interval until it is put into effect, are only to be assisted with the double ration) I ought to explain to your Excellency that the efforts of the Pious Fund are directed not only to the establishments of New and Old California, but also to the payment of the Dominican missionaries, who, by order of his Majesty, have gone to occupy the thirteen missions of Old California which were administered by the regulars of the Company of Jesus.

By agreement of the royal council of war and exchequer held in this capital on the 21st of March, 1772, it was determined to assign, with the understanding that it was for the present (until something else should be resolved upon through more knowledge secured through the reports, which the vicar-general ought to send) three hundred and fifty pesos annually to each of the two missionaries who must be in each of the thirteen missions situated in the known part of Old California. And a year's allowance ought to be advanced to them, counting from the day that they give proof of having received the missions in virtue of the certification of the royal commissary, which must also be signed by the vicar-general named. This has not been done up to the present time, but the funds are responsible, for this reason, for the annual payment of nine thousand and one hundred pesos, to which amount[31] the

stipends of the twenty-six missionaries, according to the rate assigned.

From all of the above your Excellency will understand that only to carry out the payment of the stipends of the five new missions at eight hundred pesos each, requires four thousand pesos. And, adding to this the one thousand, seven hundred and seventy-nine pesos, three tomines, and six grains for the double rations, and the nine thousand, one hundred pesos of the thirteen missions of New California, they amount in one year to fourteen thousand, eight hundred, and seventy-nine pesos, three tomines, and six grains, without including the cost of transportation, journeys, and traveling expenses for the missionaries, who, on account of illness, deaths, and other causes, may be removed from their respective destinations.

The pious funds have suffered from this cause up to now in such a manner that the twenty-eight Dominican religious priests and three lay brothers who set out from this capital for the port of San Blas cost the considerable sum of six thousand, one hundred and thirty-nine pesos, five tomines, and nine grains, from the time when they arrived at Vera Cruz until they were placed in the department of San Blas.

And it is necessary to take into consideration other indispensable expenses that continually come up, for which reason, and because the products of the estates belonging to this commendable[32] pious

work are fortuitous, it is difficult to form a computation of the net surplus that would be left to the estates of Ibarra and their annexes, and that of the Arroyo Zarco, for their principal strength consists of two sheep farms known by the names of Reina and Huasteca. And although at this time both have one hundred and fifty thousand head, they are subject to loss by deaths and other calamities which may prevent the exportation of from thirteen to fourteen thousand which are sold annually.

For this reason your Excellency must have seen in the operations which I sent joined to my report of the 14th of August of last year the statement that the estates had produced fifteen thousand, seven hundred and eighteen[33] pesos, five tomines, and eight grains net in each year, reckoning them for a period of five years, but they are exposed to the changes indicated. Adding to this sum that of the income of one hundred and twenty-six thousand and six hundred pesos which accrue to the missions from the temporalities of several colleges which the expelled fathers possessed in this branch, loaned at three,[34] three and a half or four per cent, and twenty thousand more proceeding from a private legacy, at five per cent to the house of the Count of San Pedro del Alamo and to the Marquís of San Miguel de Aguayo, they make up the capital of one hundred and forty-six thousand pesos; their annual interest amounts to five thousand, seventy-eight pesos, according to the explanation given in the writings

executed between the attorneys of the colleges and the Jesuits who exercised the office of attorney for the missions of California, upon which estimate I have directed that a balance be formed in a separate file of papers.

By this it is manifested that the temporalities owe to the Pious Fund from the day of their last payments, as appears from the receipts, up to the end of the year 1772, eight thousand seven hundred and eighty-three pesos, one tomin and two grains, that is, at the rate of interest established by the attorneys. For if the payments had to be made at the usual and current rate of five per cent they would owe, besides the sum referred to, seventeen thousand, four hundred and forty pesos, one tomin, and five grains, which is the difference. It is best that this point shall be postponed for the present, in virtue of its being one of those comprised in the three formal demands, which, by advice of the illustrious Señor Don José de Gálvez, have been made by the fiscal on the temporalities, and which, in accordance with royal orders, are following in a separate parcel.

The item of fifteen thousand and eighteen pesos added to the product of the farms, and that of five thousand and seventy-eight pesos from interest on the capitals, make up the total of twenty thousand, six hundred and eighty-six pesos, five tomines, and eight grains, which the operation quoted shows, without there being any more which can be counted

upon to-day. In them are invested the funds with which various benefactors endowed the maintenance of stipends of some of the missions of that Peninsula. And in this way only can the interest of the Pious Fund be made to provide the fourteen thousand, eight hundred and seventy-nine pesos, three tomines, and six grains, in order to suffice for the payment of the missions and rations which have been spoken of.

If it results that the contingencies referred to save some annual surplus, it will be more fitting and useful to the propagation of the faith than, after collecting a certain sum, to charge interest in order to complete the fund, which does not appear difficult to accomplish if the hundred and thirty-six thousand, one hundred and eighty-four pesos, three tomines, and nine and a half grains, which, in virtue of the decrees of his Excellency the Marqués de Croix and of your Excellency, have been issued from the capital of the missions for the purposes explained in the documents which I sent to your Excellency in my report of the 4th of the current month, consisting of the affairs of the Indians of California, the equipment of the presidio of Loreto, the expenses of the department of San Blas, and the expeditions by sea and land in search of the port of Monterey, it shall be declared that it ought to be restored, in part or the whole, from other branches which your Excellency, after a prior examination by the royal exchequer, where I asked that they should pass in

order to verify the items of the cargo that might have been sent by the persons commissioned in San Blas and California from their receipts, may certify ought to bear them.

Besides this considerable sum, the one mentioned of one hundred and thirty-six thousand, one hundred and eighty-four pesos, three tomines and nine and a half grains, there have been paid from the Pious Fund itself since the expulsion of the regulars of the Company, on account of salaries for the missionary religious, their transportation, their rations, equipages, and luggage, sixty-eight[35] thousand, two hundred and eleven pesos, four tomines and three grains more, making altogether two hundred and four thousand three hundred and ninety-six pesos and half a grain.

The total sum on hand to-day in the fund of the missions of California consists of twenty-six thousand, one hundred and thirty-seven pesos, and eleven and a half grains, but it is liable for four thousand, seven hundred and eighty-two pesos, four tomines and two grains, which the commissioners of Puebla and Querétaro have to have for the value of two invoices of clothing, which they provided for the outfitting of the servants of the haciendas of San Pedro Ibarra and its annexes, for which it is necessary to reimburse them. There will remain clear, then, twenty-one thousand, three hundred and fifty-four pesos, four tomines, and two and a half grains, a sum very necessary for the indispensable

needs that come up for the preservation and fomentation of these properties.[36]

From this it is demonstrated that no more annual income can be counted upon than that of twenty-six thousand, six hundred and eighty pesos and five tomines until it is ordered by your Excellency that the Temporalities of the Colleges, which acknowledges the hundred and twenty-six thousand and six hundred pesos in favor of these missions, shall pay from the first of the current year the usual interest of five per cent, until such time as they can return the capital.

In that event, the annual interest will increase by two thousand, six hundred and seventy-two pesos, which is the loss they have suffered on account of the lowered interest on the sums mentioned, and then the annual product from all the rents and properties will be twenty-two thousand, nine hundred and forty-eight pesos, five tomines, and eight grains; for, the ninety-six thousand pesos which were on hand on the day of the expulsion in the office of the Procurator of California having been invested, besides an invoice of goods which was found there and was valued at twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and fifty-five pesos and six tomines, and was sold at an increase by the depositary, and for this reason there was deposited in the fund twenty-eight thousand, two hundred and twenty pesos and five tomines, making the total amount invested one hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred and

twenty pesos and five tomines; and two hundred and nine thousand, one hundred and seventy-eight pesos, four tomines, and nine grains having been expended up to date, in which are included the supplies owing to Puebla and Querétaro, which have to be discounted from the funds, the clear product comes to be, in the nearly six years, that will be complete on the 25th of the present month, one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and twelve pesos, three tomines and five grains; adding to this eight thousand, six hundred and three pesos, one tomin and two grains, which come to the colleges from interest, they complete the total of one hundred and nineteen thousand, eight hundred and forty-nine pesos, two tomines, and one grain yearly, taking note of the small difference that is subtracted for the expenses of employees and accounts pending of the missions.

But if these missions should subsist with only one minister, as the Jesuits had them, and at suitable distances to help each other, there might be a larger number without the increased expense occasioned by the residence of two friars in each one, which method duplicates the amount for salaries, at the same time that the gratuities which are paid are very moderate—to me, the director, six hundred pesos, to the auditor three hundred, and one hundred to an official clerk for carrying on the management of these funds with total separation from those of the temporalities regulated by his Majesty, who

thus orders. For this reason I consider it seasonable that my repeated solicitations to be relieved of this duty shall be borne in mind, and also of that of director-general of the temporalities, as it is incompatible with the office that I enjoy of temporary auditor-general of the branch of royal tributes, in order that I may find myself relieved of the grave cares of its vast round of daily business until his Majesty shall decide what may be most conformable to his royal wishes. This is all that I can offer to the high comprehension of your Excellency in my desire to carry out your superior orders.

Mexico, June 19, 1773. MANGINO.

DECREE OF HIS EXCELLENCY

Mexico, June 22, 1773. Let a suitable abridgment of this file of papers be made by the appropriate official of my superior government; and this having been done let a royal council of war and exchequer be called, in which will be considered the resolutions agreed upon in the council which was held on the 6th of last May in regard to the points proposed by the president of the missions of California, Fray Junípero Serra, and the resolutions which were taken in the council of the 21st of May, 1772, which the director-general of temporalities quotes in his present paper of the date of the 22d of April, what the father president did, and the petitions of the

commissioner of San Blas that funds shall be given to him with which to support that new settlement and shipyard.

BUCARELI.

This agrees with the originals, which are now in their respective files in the office of government and war and to which I now refer. And so that it may be made known to the reverend father president of the missions of Monterey, Fray Junípero Serra, I issue the present paper, in virtue of what was resolved in the royal council of war and exchequer and ordered to be put into effect by his Excellency, Señor Don Fray Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua.

Mexico, July 30, 1773. JOSÉ DE GORRÁEZ.

CHAPTER XL

DECISION OF THE ROYAL COUNCIL OF WAR AND EXCHEQUER IN REGARD TO THE NEW REGULATION

In consequence of his Excellency's decree, on the 22d of June, 1773, the royal junta de guerra y hacienda was called; it was held on the 8th of July, and a decision was reached, as follows:

Copy

In the royal council of war and exchequer which was ordered convoked and which was held to-day[37] by his Excellency Señor Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua Henestrosa Lazo de la Villacis y Córdoba, knight commander of the Bóveda de Toro in the Order of San Juan, Lieutenant-general of the royal armies of his Majesty, viceroy, governor and captain-general of this New Spain, president of its real audiencia, superintendent-general of the real hacienda, president of the junta de tabacos and conservator of this branch, subdelgate-general of the new establishment of packet-boats of this kingdom, —the following gentlemen being present: Don Domingo Valcárcel y Formento, of his Majesty's

royal and supreme Council of the Indies, knight of the Order of Santiago, deacon of this royal audiencia, auditor-general of war and superintendent of the royal quicksilver ships; Don Feliz Venancio Malo, subdeacon of this royal audiencia; Don José Antonio Areche, fiscal in it; the gentlemen, Don Juan Crisóstomo Barroeta and Don Santiago Abad, the former of the council of his Majesty in that of the real hacienda, and regent in the royal tribunal of the exchequer of this New Spain, and the latter chief auditor of the royal tribunal mentioned; Don Pedro Toral Valdez, auditor, and Don Juan Antonio Gutiérrez de Herrera, factor; royal officials of the treasury of this court; Don Fernando José Mangino, auditor-general of the royal tributes; and Don Antonio de Arce y Arroyo, who is also auditor-general of the royal excise taxes.

The council of war was convoked for the purpose of examining in it the provisional regulation and instruction which was formed by order of his Excellency for the aid, safeguarding, and conservation of the old and new establishments of the Peninsula of California and the department of San Blas, by Don Juan José Echeveste.

A literal copy was made of the regulation and instruction, of the reply of the fiscal of the 14th of last June, and the report of the director-general of temporalities and the Pious Fund destined to the propagation of the faith on that peninsula of the date of the 19th of the same month. And they had

before them the resolutions agreed upon in the royal juntas which were held on the 21st of March, 1772, and the 6th of May of the current year, and also the reports of the father president of those missions, Fray Junípero Serra, of the 22d of April and the 21st of May of the year mentioned, the reply of the fiscal of June 30 in view of these reports, and the petitions of the commissioner of San Blas that a fund should be provided with which to support the obligations of the new settlement and shipyard, as is advised in the superior decree of his Excellency of the 22d of last June.

They examined the regulation and the "instructive points" with the attention demanded by the gravity of the subject, for the annual expense of all the assignments which it includes and comprises amounts to the sum of ninety thousand, four hundred and seventy-three pesos and three and a half reals; and with revision and correction of the small error of ten pesos which the fiscal points out was subtracted from the total by a slip of the pen, and two thousand pesos more, which have to be assigned to the person who may be named in this capital to succeed Don Juan José Echeveste in the commission that up to the present has run in his charge without any salary, for the work of providing the consignments of goods and ammunition necessary for that department of San Blas and the Peninsula of the Californias, they compose the total of ninety-two thousand pesos, three and a half reals.

After subtracting the thirty-three thousand which his Majesty, in his royal decree of the 10th of September, 1772, issued for the new regulation of the interior presidios, orders continued provisionally for the needs of those new and old establishments, there are lacking fifty-nine thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos and three and a half reals, which must inevitably be borne by the real hacienda, since there are no means by which the pious funds can assist with the sum of ten thousand pesos yearly; and in the regulation they designate, besides the salaries for the missionaries of Old and New California, rations at double the rate of those in these missions, for the reasons which are fully explained by the director in his report quoted.

The gentlemen voters took into consideration that for the purpose of sustaining and aiding the old and new establishments of California, as his Majesty charges his Excellency, a necessary means is the preservation of the department of San Blas, for if the contrary be done they would be left without communication with this continent. Upon this point, as the principal and most interesting one, a lengthy conference was held, demonstrating that the royal treasury has borne in previous years the excessive expenses of that department, and that even though it should contribute the fifty-nine thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos, three and a half reals in addition to the thirty-three thousand pesos

of the allowance, no new burden would be placed upon it; on the contrary, it would come out the gainer in the regulation of expenses, which, up to now, have been arbitrary, and without the legalities and securities provided by the new regulation; and it must be borne in mind that as a partial reimbursement of this expenditure the royal hacienda receives the product of the salt beds of San Blas, which, conservatively judged by the reports that have been had, will not amount to less than twenty or twenty-five thousand pesos annually. For the administration and regulations with which this branch, to which it belongs, ought to be managed in future, his Excellency will determine upon what he may consider most useful and advantageous. There were other remarks upon the advantages that would result from the new method.

Consequently, it was resolved by common accord that the department of San Blas should continue, and that from the first day of the following year, the regulation and the points which it contains should be observed and put in practice, the commissary to proceed with the sale of the cattle at auction, knocking them down to the highest bidder, and that he shall give account of the results to his Excellency the viceroy, and he shall do the same with the pack train and its entire equipment, for if it were sent to California it would cause, for the subsistence of the mules and muleteers, new expenses which ought to cease, for it is known that they are not needed in that peninsula.

And as to what was expounded in the fourteenth point of the instructions, in regard to the destination of the voyages of the newly constructed frigate and the packets *San Carlos* and *El Príncipe,* it was decided that they shall remain in the present arrangement, without using in the department of San Blas the packets *Concepción* and *Lauretana,* the sloop *El Pilar* and the schooner *Sonora.* And let the present commissioner, Don José del Campo Viergol, without sending any of them to California, report to his Excellency for what purpose they might be used, although this real junta judges it best to sell those four barks for the benefit of the real hacienda.

Let a matrix fund be established in this hacienda on condition that for the present there shall be paid from it the ninety-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-six pesos and three reals, in which are included the thirty-three thousand pesos of the allowance which his Majesty orders paid from the royal funds of Guadalaxara, because these funds, having the new charge of the payment of presidios, must send to them from this capital the sums necessary for the purpose, and so that it may all go in one account, with the object of obtaining clearness and prompt information of their payment and investment whenever his Excellency may ask for them.

Let the real hacienda also be charged with the annual salary of a surgeon, whom, in accordance with the resolution in the junta of May 6, Echeveste was directed to obtain, for attendance upon and

medical treatment in sickness of the missionary fathers of New California and the other inhabitants of those remote countries with the greatest economy.

On account of the change in the regulation of presidios there shall be sent to the commissary of San Blas, six months in advance, the sums of money belonging to that department, and to the factor or commissioner who may be appointed in this capital there shall be given the sums necessary and corresponding to the purchases that he may have to make, according to the orders that, in view of the memoranda and invoices sent, his Excellency the viceroy may issue to the royal officials; and the five thousand, five hundred pesos for the respective salaries of the governor and commissary of Old California shall be paid from this matrix fund to their attorneys with the usual conditions and legal forms.

For the first year, and once only, the pious funds shall contribute the sum of ten thousand pesos of the amount existing in the fund entrusted to their care, for this royal junta considers them equally under obligations for the subsistence of that department, since without its continuation there would be no means of transporting them to that peninsula.

It shall be left to his Excellency to name the person who shall succeed Don Juan José Echeveste in the charge, under security of six thousand pesos satisfactory to the royal officials of the funds in Mexico, and to name the other persons who, in conformity with the regulation, shall be appointed to

the offices of San Blas and California, with the necessary condition that they all give security for the amount by his Excellency which may be judged sufficient and proportionate to the management of funds and goods that may come into their possession.

Let all the previous accounts up to the latter part of the year 1772 be closed, for which his Excellency will issue the required orders of the royal tribunal of accounts, with the object that those presented shall be liquidated and annotated, and he asks that those that are lacking shall be sent, for they are necessary for the inquiry into the legitimate investment of the large amount of funds and goods which have been consumed in that department and peninsula. And at the proper time let the persons who are now in charge of the management of the funds and goods in San Blas and California send the accounts belonging to the present year of 1773, to be examined, annotated, and closed up, with a manifest of what will be on hand at the end of the year, for without these operations it would be impossible to obtain the clarity that his Excellency the viceroy justly desires in these matters.

Let the royal officials of Guadalaxara report in detail what sums they paid and to what persons, on account of the former allowance in California which was ordered to be paid from those royal funds, stating the times and years to which they belong, and suspending payment in future, so that with this information and that which the royal

officials of this chest will also supply at the end of the year in which they paid that allowance, full knowledge may be obtained of what may be owing at the end of the present year, by which it will be possible to secure the means of fulfilling the pious intentions of the king, providing for those establishments the assistance which he so strongly recommends, and fulfilling the reiterated urgings of the commissioner of San Blas, to whom, according to what his Excellency says, he has already sent some money, and he will take care that he is aided with what is necessary for what is left of this year.

The three points are also resolved which are contained in the representation of the father president of those missions, and which, in the junta of the 6th of May already mentioned, were reserved for this occasion, because it was necessary to observe everything that is provided in the regulation referred to and the points of its instruction without any variation, in which they do not expressly go, until account is given to his Majesty with a complete certified copy of the file of papers and he resolves what may be most agreeable to his royal pleasure.

Let the requisite certified copies of the regulation and points of the provisional instruction, and of this junta, be drawn up, and let them be sent to the royal hacienda, to the royal officials of this principal fund, and to the director-general of the pious funds of California, so that they may have the proper knowledge of what has been determined, and

at a suitable time let the copies be drawn up that should be sent to the employees and other persons who are concerned in their observance and fulfillment. All of the above was agreed upon and signed by the gentlemen who composed the junta.

Mexico, July 8, 1773. — Bucareli. — Valcárcel. — Malo. — Areche. — Barroeta. — Abad. — Valdez. — Gutiérrez. — Mangino. — Arce. — Don José Gorráez.

Decree of His Excellency the Viceroy

Mexico, July 23, 1773. Let the resolution of the royal council of war and exchequer which precedes be put into effect, and since they approved in it the regulation and instruction signed by Don Juan José Echeveste, let it be observed until the king determines what may be for his royal pleasure in the Peninsula of Californias and the department of San Blas, in the terms explained in the various points set forth in the royal junta, since they are the only means of facilitating the complete fulfillment of the strict charges referred to which his Majesty has deigned to entrust to me, so that he may sustain, assist, and foment the old and new establishments of that peninsula.

Let nine certified copies of the regulation spoken of and of this junta be drawn up, the first to be sent to the royal hacienda, with the object that it may appoint immediately agents to liquidate and

annotate the accounts that have already been presented, and the corresponding ones up to the end of December of this year which must be sent by the persons at present engaged in the management of the money and goods of San Blas and the Californias, doing the same with those which belong to the expeditions of Sonora and Chiguagua, so that once for all may be dispersed the confusion which is so prejudicial to the interests of the hacienda.

Let the second copy be sent to the royal officials of these funds, for their information that it is with the condition that for the present they are to pay the ninety-two thousand, four hundred and seventy-two pesos, three reals and a half which the allowance for the Californias and San Blas comes to, and from the first day of the coming year of 1774, let them have ready the funds which are to be sent in advance to the commissary of that department for the time when he may let them know the day when they are to be sent, completing now the report of the last year in which they paid the allowance of that peninsula.

Let the third certified copy be sent to the director of temporalities for the prompt despatch of the ten thousand pesos which are destined to be taken from the Pious Funds once only for those affairs.

Let the fourth copy be sent to the present commissary of San Blas, Don José del Campo Viergol, so that he may proceed without loss of time to sell the cattle, the pack train with its complete

equipment, and the ships, which are reputed to be superfluous, attempting to procure in everything the greatest advantage for the royal hacienda; and so that, at the same time, being informed that the department is to continue, and that from the first day of the coming year he must begin to observe the new provisional regulation, he may devote himself with greater zeal to putting in running order all the affairs that he has in his charge, sending at the first opportunity the accounts of this year, so that they may be sent to the tribunal of accounts and annotated and closed up, taking note that he will be assisted with the succor that he may need for the payment of expenses in this year, as has been done up to now, and that care will be taken to send to him in advance the half allowance belonging to the year 1774.

Let the fifth and sixth copy be sent to the governor and commissary of Old California, so that they may understand what each one has to observe on his part, in what manner they have to collect their respective salaries, and that they are to send as soon as possible the accounts of what they have had in their care up to the end of this year.

Let the three remaining copies be for the naming of the factor who is to succeed Don Juan José Echeveste, the new commissary, the auditor, the paymaster, and clerks of the department of San Blas, as well as the other employees who must be provided; let them be sent to the offices belonging

to the royal officials of Guadalaxara, so that they may report in the greatest detail what sums they have paid, and to what persons, from the old allowance of the Californias, stating the times and years to which they belong, taking note that in the future they are to suspend this payment.

And let Don Juan José Echeveste be directed, showing him the gratitude which his exact discharge of the commission which he has had in his care has deserved from me, and promising to relieve him of it at the first opportunity, to look for the surgeon whom he destines to treat the sicknesses of the missionary fathers and the rest of the inhabitants of those remote countries with the greatest economy.

The commissary of San Blas, the governor and commissary of the Californias, and the commander of San Diego and Monterey ought also to be advised that they ought not only to send the accounts for the present year, but also an accurate inventory which shows clearly and distinctly what goods and other things are on hand in their respective posts at the end of the same year.—Bucareli.

Compared with the original which is now in the office of government and war in my charge, to which I refer.

And in order that it may be made known to the reverend father president of the missions of Monterey, Fray Junípero Serra, I issue the present paper in virtue of what was resolved in the royal council of war and exchequer of the 8th of the

current month and was ordered put into effect by the superior decree of the 23d of the same month.

Mexico, July 29, 1773.—José Gorráez.

Remarks Concerning the Pious Fund of the Missions

Before going on I can do no less than note, although only in passing, what is said by the director-general of the temporalities, Don Fernando Mangino, in regard to the Pious Fund which was found at the time of the expulsion and departure of the Jesuit fathers, since in chapter twenty-eight of Part One I stated in a report which I made to the reverend father guardian of my College of San Fernando what fund was found. I also sent him a copy of an anonymous paper which came into my possession while I was in California and is copied elsewhere in this volume,[38] and when it is compared with what the director tells his Excellency I find some difference, and in order that he who may read both papers may have at hand some ground for comparison, I will give what there is on this point.

The anonymous paper says: "That the total of the alms given by benefactors for the support of the salaries of the missionary fathers is one hundred and sixty-eight thousand pesos."

And the director, although he does not give the amount of the alms, says that they are incorporated in the haciendas and in the sums that were lent from the Pious Fund to several colleges, and, according to the reports given by the director and the anonymous writer, the loan amounts to one hundred and twenty-six thousand, six hundred pesos, which, according to the interest charged by the Jesuit fathers, produce yearly four thousand and seventy-eight pesos, and with a thousand produced by the twenty thousand which, after the expulsion of the fathers, was received from a legacy, and upon which an interest of five per cent was placed, the annual income amounts to five thousand and seventy-eight pesos.

With the fifteen thousand, six hundred and eighteen pesos coming from the produce of the farms, it is clearly seen that the Pious Fund has free every year twenty thousand, six hundred and ninety-six pesos, five reals, and eight grains, with the charge of paying the yearly salaries of the twenty-six Dominican missionaries of Old California, which, at the rate of three hundred and fifty pesos each, amounts to the sum of nine thousand, one hundred pesos, as also the annual salaries of the five missions of Monterey at eight hundred pesos, and the double rations of the ten missionaries and three supernumeraries, which cost every year five thousand, seven hun-

dred and seventy-nine pesos, three reals, and six grains, which, subtracted from the free income which it has yearly, leaves, as will be seen (saving accidents or other extraordinary expenses that may come up) five thousand, eight hundred and seventeen pesos, two reals, and two grains.

From this sum it seems that the officials who have charge of the fund must be paid, but according to what is stated, it is only six hundred pesos to the one who serves as director, three hundred to the auditor, and one hundred to an official clerk, making altogether one thousand pesos yearly.

Moreover, the director says that on the expulsion of the fathers there was found in money the sum of ninety-two thousand pesos, and in the anonymous paper it is stated that it gives four hundred pesos more in favor of the charitable fund; without doubt the error must have resulted from the fact that when that paper was formed this amount extra must have existed, and before these funds entered into the possession of the director they must have been spent in supplies for the mission, or in settling up some affair that had not been paid.

Again, he says that an invoice of goods was found, which, being valued, came to twenty-seven thousand, two hundred and fifty pesos and six reals, in which he agrees with the same thing

as stated by the anonymous writer. It was sold at a better advantage than the valuation, for there was added to the fund twenty-eight thousand, two hundred and twenty pesos, five reals, which, with the amount in money, comes to one hundred and twenty thousand, two hundred and twenty pesos, five reals. This sum, together with the products from the farms in the nearly six years that had passed since the expulsion, which, according to the director, have amounted to one hundred and ten thousand, three hundred and twelve pesos, three tomines, and five grains, come to the sum of two hundred and thirty thousand, five hundred and thirty-three pesos, five grains.

From this Pious Fund, since the expulsion of the fathers, there has been paid in the transportation of the missionaries to California, their outfits, their daily rations, and their stipends, the sum of seventy-eight thousand, two hundred and eleven pesos, four reals, and three grains.

The director also says that he has delivered, on account of decrees of their Excellencies the viceroys, the Marquis de Croix and Señor Bucareli, the sum of one hundred and thirty-six thousand, one hundred and eighty-four pesos, three reals, and nine grains and a half for the purposes stated in those decrees: that is, to fit out the warehouse[39] of Loreto, for the department of San Blas, for the expenses of the

expeditions by sea and land to the ports of San Diego and Monterey, and for the Indians of California.

For the latter I do not know that anything more has been spent than the alms of clothing which I received in Loreto in the year 1769, and which was valued, according to the invoice which was sent to me by the visitor-general, at eight thousand, five hundred pesos, as has already been said in Part One, chapter fifteen, and, therefore, all the rest of the sum must have been used in what these decrees say.

The director concludes by saying that there were free in the chest of the fund on that date, the 19th of July, 1773, twenty-six thousand, one hundred and thirty-seven pesos, eleven and a half grains, and that from this sum he had to pay the commissioners of the colleges of Puebla and Querétaro four thousand, seven hundred and eighty-two pesos, four reals, and nine grains for a consignment of clothing for the servants of the haciendas; and that after paying this sum, there would remain twenty-one thousand, three hundred and fifty-four pesos, four reals, two and a half grains, and that the temporalities of the colleges were owing to the pious fund for interest eight thousand, seven hundred and eighty-three pesos, one real, and two grains; and when this is collected the chest will have the sum of thirty thousand and thirty-seven pesos, five

reals, and four and a half grains. From this fund, according to the decision of his Excellency in the royal council, there ought to be advanced for the first time ten thousand pesos and the annual stipends for all the missionaries, of Old California as well as of New.[40]

In the anonymous paper quoted mention is made of the invoice of goods and effects which were found in the warehouse of Loreto in California, which, according to the valuation made of it, was computed at seventy-nine thousand, three hundred and seven pesos and three reals.

Of this the director makes no memorandum, no doubt because it did not enter into his possession, but it is known that those goods and effects were received by Governor Don Gaspar de Portolá, who was commissioned for that purpose, and with it he went on paying the soldiers of the Peninsula, and on the arrival of the visitor he delivered the warehouse to Don Francisco Trillo y Bermúdez, who was named commissary of the warehouse and continued to pay the soldiers in the same way with goods and effects, and to supply the missions on account of what was owing to them from the warehouse of Loreto, and from the same goods the aforesaid Commissary Trillo took a consignment which was valued at about twenty thousand pesos for the Southern Department of California, for the purpose of putting in running order another warehouse for that department.

The director is ignorant of all this, for if he knew it he would not fail to make representations to his Excellency for the return of those sums to the Pious Fund, since they supplied the pay of the soldiers, which was not paid in those years, as he says in his representation, and he asks that the sums be paid which were taken from the fund by decrees of other branches to which those expenses pertained.

With the above explanations it seems to me that the papers quoted of the anonymous writer and the director-general are brought into agreement.

CHAPTER XLI

CONCERNING OTHER MEASURES WHICH THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT OBTAINED IN FAVOR OF THE MISSIONS

Besides what has been stated in the preceding chapters the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, obtained from his Excellency the Viceroy with persuasion and urging, several other measures for the fomentation and advancement of these spiritual and temporal conquests. In the first place, that Commander Don Pedro Fages should be retired, for, with his notions he prevented the spiritual and temporal[41] advancement, and that another official should be put there who did not belong to the regular troops but to the leather-jacket soldiery. Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada was named as new commander on account of his long experience in the government of leather-jacket troops and the missions, for he filled this office for more than twenty-five years in Old California, and in the expeditions to Monterey was second in command. It was not his Excellency's wish that the person proposed by the reverend father president in his report, Don José Francisco de Ortega, should

go at present, for no other reason than that he held no higher rank than sergeant of the company, but he promoted him to be lieutenant of the same company, to reside in the presidio of San Diego. With these measures the country was greatly advanced.

He also obtained an increase of the annual stipend for the missionaries, and hence it was established that for each mission in which missionaries are to reside they are to be given eight hundred pesos. Having represented that since the foundation his Excellency and the illustrious visitor-general sent them with the cargo of the barks some general aid in alms, he begged that what was to be employed in giving food and clothing to the Christians and to attract the heathen should be marked in a separate invoice; in order to prevent disagreements with the commander it was so determined, as has been stated, and the alms for the first year were set down as follows:

Alms Sent by His Excellency to the Missions

First, three boxes of vestments for the three missions of San Gabriel, San Antonio, and San Luís, because those which had come for them were very old.

Five bales of common clothing for the Indians, which contain the following:

No. 1.—15 blankets for single beds, 16 pieces of common cotton cloth two-thirds of a yard wide, 185 varas of coarse brown serge, 6 shepherds' blankets.

No. 2.—194 yards of blue baize, 4 pieces of common cloth two-thirds of a yard wide, 4 of the same three-quarters of a yard wide, 10 pounds of blue maguey cloth for children, 6 shepherds' blankets.

No. 3.—195 yards of blue baize, 5 pieces of common cotton cloth seven-eighths of a yard wide, 12 shepherds' blankets.

No. 4.—143 yards of striped baize, 15 blankets for single beds, 12 shepherds' blankets.

No. 5.—160 varas of striped baize, 4 reams of superior Genoese paper, 41 shepherds' blankets, 4 boxes of beads in 408 parcels; 1 package containing nine jugs of olive oil; 10 boxes of hams, costing three hundred and fifty pesos, and weighing sixty arrobas net; 6 boxes of common chocolate, weighing seven arrobas net; 5 packages of dried peppers, weighing thirty-five arrobas; 4 barrels of wine from Castile; 4 barrels of brandy tested with oil; 260 packages of fine flour, weighing six arrobas each; 900 bushels of corn; 250 bushels of beans; 100 arrobas of jerked beef; 16 boxes of panocha; 3 barrels of lard; 9 packages of chick peas; 9 packages of lentils; 6 packages of rice; 5 sets of cedar measures, six pieces in each set; 1 forge of choice make, with thirty-four pieces; 5 quintals and three arrobas of sheet iron.

All of the foregoing was ordered given as alms by his Excellency, for this one time for the first five years; he ordered that the ten friars should be given double rations, which are three reals daily for each, and the same to the supernumeraries, so that this alms, together with the stipends, should aid in maintaining and clothing the Indians until in the first five years the missions are put in running order, so that they may support themselves with the annual stipends only. The other measures have been stated in the preceding chapters, to which I refer.[42]

CHAPTER XLII

DEPARTURE OF THE REVEREND FATHER PRESIDENT FROM MEXICO, AND HIS FORTUNATE JOURNEY TO THESE MISSIONS[43]

His health recuperated by the good measures which he succeeded in obtaining from the Christian zeal of his Excellency the Viceroy, Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli, the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, left Mexico with the reverend father lector, Fray Pablo Mugártegui, who was assigned by the venerable Discretory as his companion in 1773.[44] Arriving at the port of San Blas, without accident, they embarked on January 24, 1774, in his Majesty's new frigate named *Santiago,* alias *La Nueva Galicia,* in which came the provisions for the three missions of San Carlos, San Antonio, and San Luís, of the department of Monterey. The packet *San Antonio* was left to bring what belonged to San Diego and San Gabriel,[45] as well as the provisions which belonged to the presidio of San Diego, and the alms belonging to these two missions, all the rest going in the frigate named. The royal commissary or warehouse keeper of Monterey, the surgeon with his family, three

blacksmiths with their families, and three carpenters, whom the reverend father president also succeeded in obtaining for the missions, likewise embarked, the king paying the expense of their voyage as well as their annual salaries and rations, without the missions spending a cent on them.

On the day mentioned they sailed from San Blas, and without having had on the way any mishap whatever they arrived at the port and mission of San Diego on the thirteenth of March, landing next day. Although the order was not to stop at San Diego, but to come direct to Monterey, it was God's will that they should touch there because the winds were not favorable at that time for ascending to this latitude, and they were consequently able to relieve the serious necessity of those missions and the guards.

After arriving at that port the reverend father president decided to go up by land, with the object of visiting all the missions and giving an embrace to the ministers. This he did, leaving at San Diego the father companion, who had arrived ill from the cold. In order that the frigate might not go up without a priest he ordered Father Fray Gregorio Amurrio, who was supernumerary in San Diego, to go in it. He left also two ministers for San Diego, and for them and for the missions he left sufficient provisions for the time that the packet *San Antonio*

might be delayed. He left the same for the fathers and the mission of San Gabriel, and on account of the king the captain of the frigate left supplies for the guards of both missions.

These arrangements made, the reverend father president set out from San Diego on the sixth of April, and at the same time the frigate sailed for this port of Monterey. On the ninth of May the frigate arrived at the port in perfect safety, and on the same day it dropped anchor. On the morning of the eleventh the reverend father president arrived, accompanied by the father preacher Fray José Murguía, who was at that time stationed at San Antonio. His fortunate arrival was a great joy to everybody, on account of the good measures that he had succeeded in obtaining for the welfare and advancement of these conquests, but principally because they saw him in such robust health and strength after so much sickness and hardship on the long journey.

The commanders by sea and land at once set to work to unload the frigate, and on the part of the missions the provisions that came for them from our College were received, as also the alms sent by his Excellency, of which I spoke in the chapter just preceding. With these abundant supplies the necessities from which they were suffering were relieved. And they were serious, for in this mission of San Carlos

they had been thirty-seven days without a tortilla to eat or a crust of bread, the food consisting of a little ground chick peas or beans, with which gruel was made with milk, and in the morning a little coffee in place of chocolate, though we were aided by the sardines which were caught by a varason.[46] The Indians were all at Monterey on the beach looking for food, but as soon as the frigate arrived they assembled again at the mission.

CHAPTER XLIII

ARRIVAL OF THE NEW COMMANDER, DON FERNANDO RIVERA Y MONCADA[47]

It has already been said in chapter forty-one that Don Fernando Rivera was named by his Excellency as captain commander of Monterey. At the time of his appointment he was in the city of Guadalaxara, but as soon as he received the order he went to Mexico to see his Excellency, who required him to go to Sinaloa to collect some soldiers and the families of the married ones to settle in the missions, which was one of the points for which the reverend father president had petitioned his Excellency. It was ordered that he be given money for this purpose, and he left Mexico for Guadalaxara, and from there he went to Sinaloa, where he recruited some soldiers, most of them married and with families. In company with the commander, Don Fernando, they all embarked on the packet *Concepción* and reached Loreto in the middle of March.

As there was no way for all whom he brought (among old and young they comprised fifty-one souls) to go by land to Vellicatá, and reflecting also that there would be no provisions there for their journey up to San Diego, he decided to come up by land as speedily as possible to this

presidio of Monterey, in order to send all the provisions necessary to Vellicatá. He wrote of this decision to his lieutenant, Don José Francisco Ortega, who was at the camp of Santa Ana in the Southern Department of California, notifying him at the same time of his title and rank of lieutenant, and charging him to go up as soon as possible with his family to the frontier of San Fernando Vellicatá, there to join those families and await the provisions that he would send for them from Monterey.

Leaving these things provided for at Loreto, he came up through California and arrived at the royal presidio of Monterey on May 23d, about seven in the morning, at the time when they were about to celebrate on board the frigate a chanted Mass in thanksgiving for the fortunate voyage which the bark had made. At this function the new commander, Don Fernando, was able to assist. On the following day he presented his title, which Don Pedro Fages had just resigned, and it was proclaimed in the camp, Don Fernando receiving the command of the presidio. The two went on then to make the inventories and to deliver everything contained in the warehouse and offices and the rest pertaining to the royal service. Then the retiring commander, after taking a receipt for everything, went by land to the port of San Diego to embark, as he was ordered to do by his Excellency. He left Monterey on July 19, 1774.

CHAPTER XLIV

ARRIVAL AT MONTEREY OF THE PACKET *SAN ANTONIO,* ALIAS *EL PRÍNCIPE*

It has already been said in chapter forty-two that the provisions, supplies, and effects belonging to the department of San Diego remained in San Blas to be brought by the packet *San Antonio,* the outfitting of which was hastened by the same commissary of San Blas, Don Francisco Hinojosa, so that by the end of March it had already left that port. It bore orders to go up as quickly as possible, first to Monterey to leave the part of the cargo which belonged there, and a further supply of provisions for the crew of the frigate for expeditions to the north, and afterwards to go down to San Diego and leave the rest of the cargo. The purpose of his Excellency was accomplished in that it arrived first at Monterey, without touching previously at San Diego. It dropped anchor at Monterey on the eighth of June, being the first bark up to the present that has succeeded in reaching this port without touching at that of San Diego. Consequently it succeeded in finding the frigate and giving it the succor that it brought.

They at once set to work to unload, but it was detained longer than necessary because the retiring commander, Don Pedro Fages, was not ready, for he was to embark with his picket of volunteer soldiers of the Free Catalonian Company, and although the packet remained in this port until the 7th of July, his delivery was not yet concluded, so he decided to stay and finish the business and afterwards go by land to San Diego. It was so done, the packet sailing on the day mentioned, the seventh, and on it went half of the volunteer soldiers. Two of them remained to accompany their lieutenant, Don Pedro Fages, by land; the remaining ten stayed at the presidio until such time as more leather-jacket soldiers should come, in case anything happened. At the same time the father preacher, Fray Ramón Ussón, who asked leave to go to the College to seek a remedy for a disease of the eyes from which he was suffering, sailed on the packet.

They arrived safely at San Diego, and, after unloading and delivering the cargo to the missions of that department as well as to the guards, the captain of the bark, Don José Cañizares, decided to sail as soon as possible in order to reach San Blas before the equinox, and with this purpose he left San Diego on the 4th day of August of the current year of 1774. Besides Father Ussón there went in the bark Father

Fray Juan Prestamero, on account of an illness of the stomach, and Father Fray Domingo Juncosa, who had asked leave more than a year since to retire to the College. On account of their departure the number of missionaries was reduced to seventeen, besides two who remained in California to conduct the cargoes and cattle for these missions.

CHAPTER XLV

EXPEDITION BY LAND FROM SONORA TO THESE MISSIONS

Communication by land between the province of Sonora and the Peninsula of California has always been considered very important for the conquest and reduction of the latter. With this road opened it could be supplied with everything necessary without the contingencies of a Gulf so bewitched as that of California, but it was thought that this route, if not impossible, was at least very difficult, not so much on account of the two very large rivers in the intervening country, called Gila and Colorado, as because of the great sand dunes which they said lay on the edge of Sonora before reaching the Colorado. But, thanks to God, this difficulty has been overcome by the expedition made this year by Don Juan Baptista de Anza, captain of the presidio[48] of Tubac on the frontiers of Sonora.

This gentleman inherited the fervor of his deceased father, captain of one of those presidios, who desired to open the passage and communication between Sonora[49] and California. He did not put a hand to the undertaking at

the time of the expedition by sea and land to look for the ports of San Diego and Monterey because he did not obtain permission from the superior government. But he remembered the wishes of his deceased father, and, just as though it had been required of him in a clause of a will, he volunteered to the illustrious visitor-general to make an expedition at his own expense by land from the last presidios and frontiers of Sonora to the great sea, to meet the expedition which was going in search of those ports. He did not realize his desire because the visitor did not at that time consider the expedition necessary. The occupation of both ports being accomplished, he now placed his proposal before his Excellency, Don Fray Antonio María Bucareli, offering to make the expedition at his own expense. His Excellency, having been informed of the high importance of this communication by land to these new reductions, and moved by his great zeal for their advancement, replied, giving him hope and charging him to repeat his proposal for the undertaking.

In the meantime the viceroy informed his Majesty, and consulted the reverend father president as to whether there would be any objection to that enterprise. He replied that it would be most advantageous, and that it would also be a good thing if his Excellency would order another expedition to go from New Mexico to

Monterey, as has already been said in chapter thirty-eight in the fifth point of his representation. The reply arrived from his Majesty, telling his Excellency that he would not only grant him permission for the expedition but that he would issue to him from the royal treasury all that would be necessary to accomplish so important an enterprise.

In consequence of this decree of his Majesty, his Excellency gave the desired permission to Captain Anza, who immediately set to work to prepare everything necessary for the expedition. He asked for only twenty soldiers, to be named by himself. They were immediately granted, but when he had all the mules[50] and horses collected and ready to start he suffered the misfortune of having the Apaches fall upon them and carry them off, after killing some soldiers who were guarding them.

In order that he might not be discouraged on account of this misfortune, God ordered that at the same time there should arrive at one of the presidios of the frontier a California Indian named Sebastián Tarabal, a native of the mission of Santa Gertrudis, who, having been one of those who came on the expedition to Monterey, and having taken a liking to the country, went back to California for his wife and returned to settle in these missions. Growing weary of staying there, he fled with his wife and another

California Indian from the mission of San Gabriel, disappearing in the month of August. Instead of taking the road to his own country, which he knew well, for he had gone over it three times, it was the will of the Divine Providence that he should go inland and reach one of the towns on the banks of the Colorado River.

From there the heathen accompanied him to the first presidio of the frontier, and told the captain who he was, and of his flight, and that his wife and their Indian companion had died on the road. The captain at once reported this to Don Juan Baptista de Anza, who, thanking God for the guide thus given him, sent for him, and, after questioning him, decided to start as soon as possible, on condition that God would open the way for the enterprise. He quickly got together as many horses and mules as he could, and set out with an escort of twenty soldiers and accompanied by the fathers Fray Francisco Garcés and Fray Juan Díaz, missionaries of the apostolic college of Santa Cruz de Querétaro, and ministers of that first mission.

On the 8th of January of the current year of 1774 this expedition set out from Altar, the last presidio of those provinces on the road to this coast, and in a month's travel it had already crossed successfully the two rivers named Gila and Colorado. They had not had the slightest mishap, and those heathen, having borne them-

selves with great urbanity and friendliness,[51] had not shown the least sign of displeasure on seeing these new travelers in their land. They crossed the two rivers at the junction, and found their banks well populated with large villages, which have good fields of corn, wheat, beans, pumpkins, and watermelons, of all of which they harvest good crops, keeping them in large clay jars which they make. The fields are on the banks of the river, which, in the rainy season rises and waters the land, and when it recedes they raise crops with the moisture that remains in the earth. For grinding the grain they have their metates. These Indians are well formed and in some degree civilized; they have an abundance of horses and mares which they have obtained from the province of Sonora; all ride horseback, women as well as men, but bareback, as they have no saddles.

In all the villages which they encountered the natives behaved so well that Captain Anza did not have the least hesitation in leaving in one of the villages on the Colorado River some cattle which he was bringing on the hoof, in order to kill them now and then for use on the road, to be kept until his return, and such mules as were tired out. He left some soldiers for their better care and with only those that were absolutely necessary for the rest of the journey he continued on the road by which the Indian Tara-

bal led him. Soon after leaving the Colorado River they entered some great sand dunes which they had to cross. They are some twenty leagues wide, and in this stretch they had a great deal of trouble on account of the scarcity of water, which incapacitated the riding animals in such a manner that the men had to go on foot and pull them along by the halter.

This sandy stretch passed, they now entered good lands with plenty of water and pasture, with which the animals regained their strength. In the whole distance they found no difficulty to overcome, neither from people nor bad roads, for it is all level ground. On the twenty-second of March they arrived at the mission of San Gabriel, thanks to God, without the least accident to health, although very short of provisions. On the day they arrived, although it was quite late, none of them had tasted food, for they thought they would not be so many days coming from the Colorado River, according to what the guide had told them. But the sad thing was that the people of San Gabriel were in almost the same need, for they could only help them with meat, by immediately killing a beef. However, in a short time aid reached them from San Diego by the frigate which had arrived.

Wishing to talk with the reverend father president, Captain Anza waited for him at San Gabriel until the tenth of April. As the wait

was delaying him he decided to set out for Monterey with only six of his own soldiers and two from San Gabriel, leaving the remainder with the two[52] fathers to rest there until he came up to this royal presidio and mission of San Carlos, where he arrived on the 21st of the same month of April. After stopping there only three days he decided to return, in order to make the crossing of the Colorado River before the water rose. He did this, the commander, Don Pedro Fages, giving him six soldiers from the presidio to accompany him as far as the Colorado River so that they might learn the way, in case it should happen that some mail had to be sent by land. This was done, and when the soldiers returned they said that on their way back the heathen on the road between San Diego and the Colorado River tried to take their animals from them, and that in order to defend them it was necessary to kill two of the Indians.

They added that the soldiers who had been left on the Colorado River by Captain Anza had been molested by the Indians, who tried to rob them; and that from San Gabriel to the Colorado River, traveling at a good pace, they were seven days on the way, and on the return at the pace of the pack train they were fourteen days. According to what Captain Anza said, that river is distant from the mission of San Gabriel about eighty leagues by the road that he followed, and

that from the presidio of Altar it must be about ninety leagues.

He left with the intention of going in person to Mexico to report to his Excellency, expecting to be in that city some time in July. The road having been discovered by his journey, it is hoped that these missions and the presidio will profit by every species of cattle and horses from the province of Sonora, as a consequence of which it will be easier to succor this land.

CHAPTER XLVI

EXPEDITION BY SEA WHICH DON JUAN PÉREZ MADE, BY ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCY, AS FAR AS FIFTY-FIVE* DEGREES NORTH LATITUDE

The Christian and fervent zeal of his Excellency, the viceroy, Don Antonio María Bucareli, in extending our Holy Catholic Faith in order to increase the number of sons for the Holy Church and of vassals for our king, Don Carlos III, does not permit him to rest, even with all the measures and provisions for the spiritual conquests that we have in hand on this coast of the South Sea, between the port of San Diego and that of Our Father San Francisco, a distance of more than two hundred leagues, and a land peopled with an immense body of heathen, all well disposed for spiritual and temporal[53] advancement, as they themselves make known. For this reason his noble and magnanimous heart planned another expedition by sea, with the object of exploring the coasts of this great sea, ascending from Monterey, which is in latitude thirty-six[54] degrees, as far as sixty degrees. And he plans, if the coast should be found peopled

* The MS. by a slip reads "fifty-one." See p. 174.

with heathen, and to have harbors and places in it for founding settlements, immediately to take the necessary steps to establish them in the name of the crown of our sovereign, in order to extend our Holy Faith and convert to it all the heathen who may be found in that place.

This great enterprise of the expedition by sea he entrusted to Don Juan Pérez, a European, of the island of Mayorca, frigate alférez, and marine commander of the ships of the port of San Blas, confident that he would discharge the duty, since he was the first who in the expeditions to Monterey was able to find the port of San Diego, where he entered on the eleventh of August, 1769, in the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which he commanded as captain and first pilot, and he succeeded in doing the same in regard to the port of Monterey, for he was the one who discovered it on the thirty-first of May, 1770. His Excellency at once wrote to him concerning this expedition, in which he was to ascend at least as far as sixty degrees. Opening to him the royal treasury, he told him that he might ask for anything necessary for the expedition, and he did so, asking for everything that seemed to him requisite, a crew, clothing, provisions, and wine for the mess; and everything was issued to him by the commissary of San Blas, who did not refuse the smallest thing in all that was requested for the expedition by the commander.

His Majesty's new frigate named *Santiago,* alias *La Nueva Galicia,* left San Blas destined for that voyage on the 24th day of January of the current year 1774, charged with carrying to Monterey the cargo of provisions and goods for the royal presidio, where it arrived on the 10th of May, as has been said, and work was immediately begun in unloading and getting it ready for the expedition.

His Excellency having decided that two missionary friars should go, the reverend father president appointed the father preachers Fray Juan Crespi and Fray Tomás de la Peña Saravia, whom he charged with observing and writing down all the notable things they might see on the voyage.

On the 6th day of June, about six in the afternoon, these two friars went aboard the frigate, and on the following day it set sail. But as the wind blew from the northwest they could not get out of the port; they tacked several times, but, as the wind which hindered their departure appeared to be freshening, they dropped anchor at three o'clock in the afternoon. The same wind continued all night and the following day, for which reason they remained at anchor. About one in the afternoon they saw a sail; it turned out to be the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which entered and dropped anchor about three in the afternoon.

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Año 1774

Diario que yo Fr. Juan Crespi Missionero del Appco. Colegio de Propaganda Fide de Sn. Fernando de Mexico, formo del viage dela Fragata de su Magd. nombrada Santiago, alias la nueva Galicia, mandada por su Capitan y Alferez de Fragata Dn. Juan Perez, que por orden del Excmo. Sr. Bayllio Frey Dn. Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursua Virrey dela Nueva España va á hacer de las Costas del Norte de Monte=Rey, que se halla en la Altura de 36 grados, y medio del Norte, hasta los 60 grados alomenos

Hallandome ocupado de Ministro de esta Mission de San Carlos de Monte=Rey, y haviendo llegado á ella en 11 de mayo del Corriente año de buelta de su viage de nuestro Colegio, y Ciudad de Mexico el P. Presidente de estas nuevas Missiones Fr. Junipero Serra, nos hizo saber que dicho Señor Excmo. de acuerdo con el R. P. Guardian de dicho nuestro Colegio el P. Lector Fr. Rafael Verger havia determinado que un Religioso Sacerdote de los nuestros, fuese de Capellan de la dicha Ex

First page of Crespi's Diary of 1774.

From the Sevilla MS., Archivo General de Indias. Palóu's version omits this page.

On account of the arrival of *El Príncipe* they delayed, partly for the purpose of answering letters which had come, and partly to provide themselves with some things that came in the packet; and they also exchanged some sailors who were rather ill for those who came fresh. Seizing the opportunity of this delay, the commander by sea, Don Juan Pérez, asked that a solemn Mass be sung to Our Lady for the success of the expedition. This was done on the tenth under an arbor of branches that was built on the very spot where Mass was celebrated on the seventeenth of December, 1602, when the expedition of General Vizcaíno landed, and again on the third of July, 1770, when they came to settle this port. The last two Masses were sung by the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra. On the following day, Saturday, they set sail.

On August 27, about four in the afternoon, the expedition dropped anchor in the port of Monterey on the return voyage, and in the afternoon of the twenty-ninth they came to this mission of San Carlos. They arrived in perfect health, and told us that during the voyage there had been no illness, but that as far as the voyage was concerned they had only been able to reach the latitude of fifty-five degrees. They had not even been able to make a landing to set up the standard of the holy cross and take possession of the country in the name of his Majesty; but on

the two occasions when they approached for that purpose many heathen went in their canoes to visit them at the bark, as is related in detail in the diaries kept by both fathers. These diaries were sent by the reverend father president to his Excellency, and a copy of them to our College, and since both contain the same thing, with only a difference in style, I have copied one so that it may be on record in these pages for the future.

CHAPTER XLVII

DIARY OF THE SEA EXPEDITION MADE BY THE FRIGATE *SANTIAGO*, IN WHICH WENT THE FATHER PREACHERS FRAY JUAN CRESPI AND FRAY TOMÁS DE LA PEÑA

While I was minister of the mission of San Carlos de Monterey the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, appointed me to go with the sea expedition, and, notwithstanding that I was much fatigued with so many journeys by land, I made the sacrifice of going on this enterprise, resigning myself to obedience, and expecting through God every success in the voyage.[55] I had the consolation of going in company with the reverend father preacher,[56] Fray Tomás de la Peña y Saravia; and although I was only charged by my prelate to go ashore and take observations of the latitude, to explore the land and make a report of what there might be in it, I decided to keep a diary of the sea voyage, if the weather and sea-sickness, which I never can escape at sea, would permit me, and to note down day by day everything that happened.

Monday, June 6, 1774.—We set out about four in the afternoon from the mission of San Carlos de Monterey, accompanied by the reverend father president, and, after reaching the royal presidio and

taking farewell of the captains, and of Fathers Murguía and Palóu, who were there, and confessing the men of the crew for the voyage, we continued to the beach, where we took farewell of the reverend father president. After receiving his blessing we went aboard his Majesty's frigate *Santiago,* alias *La Nueva Galicia,* on which we were joyfully received by everybody, because they expected their spiritual consolation from us. This night they spent in the business of raising the anchors.

Tuesday, June 7.—The maneuver of raising the anchors was continued, the frigate was drawn out of the anchorage by a tow boat ahead, the northwest wind took effect at nine o'clock, and about eleven we were sailing on our way. Blessed be God, whom I ask to give us all success. They made two or three tacks, and then returned to drop anchor in the same harbor, as the northwest wind had freshened very much. About three in the afternoon we were safely anchored. This night the boatswain fell seriously ill of a high fever.

Wednesday, June 8.—Day dawned with a wind which lasted all day, for which reason we could not go out. Shortly after one in the afternoon a sail was seen, and it turned out to be the packet *San Antonio,* alias *El Príncipe,* which entered and dropped anchor in this port about three in the afternoon, for which reason, in addition to the contrary wind which did not give us a chance to sail, we delayed our departure.

Thursday, June 9.—Seeing that for the above reasons we were not starting on the voyage, we two fathers went ashore to the post, where we found the reverend father president, with Fathers Murguía and Palóu, and after being with them a while we went back on board to dine. This afternoon Captain Don Juan Pérez asked that on the following day a Mass should be sung on land to Our Lady for the success of the voyage.

Friday, June 10.—An altar was erected under a shelter of branches on the same spot where Mass was celebrated on the 17th day of December, 1602, during the expedition under General Don Sebastián Vizcaíno, and on June 3, 1770, when they came to settle this port. The latter Mass was sung by the reverend father president, who sang it also to-day, fathers Fray José Murguía and Fray Francisco Dumetz, and we two who were going on this exploration, making the choir. We dined on the beach, all the fathers with the captains and commanders by sea and land, and we went aboard about half-past four. The boatswain died after receiving the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction, and his body was sent to land so that the fathers of the mission of San Carlos might give it burial in the church of the royal presidio.

Saturday, June 11.—The day dawned with a calm sea, and with a tow-rope at the prow they drew the bark towards the green growth on the point, the launches of the two barks helping to tow it out.

About eleven o'clock we set sail with a north wind, and the launch of the *Príncipe,* having left the anchor which had served as a tow, could not overtake us. All this afternoon the bark pitched badly on account of the swell at the prow. At nightfall we found ourselves about three leagues from Point Año Nuevo, and the wind went down.

Sunday, June 12.—We two priests celebrated[57] Mass, the sea being still calm. In the afternoon the north wind blew, but lightly, and at sunset it ceased; about nine at night a variable wind blew from the east, but it soon died down; the entire night passed with light winds and a very wet, dense fog.

Monday, June 13.—Day broke with the same fog. We two celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass. On account of the heavy fog we could not see the land, and the pilots were not able to make observations. All the afternoon and the next night the fog continued thick and damp.

Tuesday, June 14.—Day broke calm and still foggy. This morning we made out Point Año Nuevo at a distance of two leagues, and the current carried us so near the coast that at nine we were only a quarter of a league from it. They took soundings several times and found a depth of 22, 24, and 25 fathoms. At half-past twelve the wind began to blow lightly from the southwest, and thereupon we drew off from the land. In the night it fell calm at intervals, and by tacking we kept ourselves between the two points.

Wednesday, June 15.—We found ourselves at dawn to the west of and opposite Point Pinos, and we very clearly saw Cypress Point, Carmelo Bay, and the Sierra de Santa Lucía. At eight the wind began to blow from the northwest rather freshly, but before nine it died down again. This day we did not have as much fog as on the preceding days, but the sky was clouded. At nightfall we found ourselves about six leagues distant from the mountains.

Thursday, June 16.—Dawn broke finding us about twelve leagues from land opposite the Sierra de Santa Lucía. At eight in the morning the north-northwest wind freshened somewhat, with signs of rain, but it did not rain and the wind calmed. In the afternoon the weather cleared and the wind slackened.

Friday, June 17.—Day broke calm with the sky very clear, and about one in the afternoon a south-west wind arose, but it was light. We made out far away the Sierra de Santa Lucía, at a distance of about sixteen leagues. At night the wind inclined to the northwest, and they tacked with the prow to the west-southwest.

Saturday, June 18.—Day broke with the same wind and a fog so thick and damp that it seemed like rain. The captain got up with a sickness of the stomach, not having rested during the entire night. His indisposition lasted until midday when he was relieved. About twelve the pilots made observations and told us that we were in thirty-four degrees and

fifty-seven minutes. In the afternoon the wind freshened.

Sunday, June 19.—Day broke with the same wind, but fresher and with heavy swells, causing the bark to roll heavily, and for that reason we went without Mass. At eight we were left with only the foresail, and we continued in this way at three or four knots an hour. In the afternoon it calmed down somewhat and the mainsail was unfurled.

Monday, June 20.—The wind having slackened somewhat, the maintopsails were trimmed and the bark sailed on at the rate of five and a half knots an hour. All this day it blew from the northwest.

Tuesday, June 21.—Day dawned with a very clear sky; the wind inclined to the north and blew fresh during the day; sail was made to the west by the northwest at three knots an hour. The pilots observed the latitude to be thirty-four degrees and eight minutes.

Wednesday, June 22.—Day broke cloudy; at seven in the morning a fog descended on us from the north and the wind died down. At twelve o'clock they observed the latitude to be thirty-four degrees and seven minutes; the wind remained light and variable.

Thursday, June 23.—The wind veered to the northeast, inclining afterwards to the northwest. Observations showed thirty-three degrees and forty-six minutes. The wind kept to the northwest the rest of the day and sail was made to the west-southwest at three knots an hour.

Friday, June 24.—Day broke cloudy, and the wind blew to the northwest rather freshly, while we sailed to the west-northwest. We both said Mass, in which the captain and the boatswain took communion in celebration of the days of their saint. Observations showed a latitude of thirty-three degrees and forty-three[58] minutes. In the afternoon the wind blew northwest by west, at three and a half knots.

Saturday, June 25.—The day broke clear and with the same wind as yesterday, and we sailed four knots in the same direction. Observation showed thirty-four degrees and twenty-six minutes. To-day we began to ascend. About nine in the morning the wind veered to the east.

Sunday, June 26.—Day broke with the same fresh wind. We both said Mass and in his the father companion gave the sermon. The pilots made observation and found we were in thirty-five degrees and thirty-seven minutes. At five in the afternoon the wind went down.

Monday, June 27.—At seven in the morning the wind began to blow to the northwest, light and variable. They observed the latitude to be thirty-five degrees, fifty-nine minutes. The same weather continued all day.

Tuesday, June 28.—The same wind continued, with which two knots were made. The pilots observed the latitude to be thirty-six degrees and twenty-six minutes, almost in the parallel of Mon-

terey. In the afternoon the wind freshened somewhat and continued all night.

Wednesday, June 29.—Day broke with the same wind. We both said Mass, in which the surgeon and some sailors took communion. At midday they observed thirty-seven degrees and twenty minutes. In the afternoon the wind veered to the east and with it four knots were made.

Thursday, June 30.—The wind continued in the east, although light, and about seven it turned to the east-southeast, still light. The pilots observed thirty-eight degrees and thirty-seven minutes; in the afternoon the wind freshened somewhat.

Friday, July 1.—This day broke almost calm. They observed thirty-nine degrees, and forty-five minutes. At half-past twelve a very light south wind began to blow and brought down on us a heavy fog; at five the wind calmed.

Saturday, July 2.—About three in the morning a shower fell with winds from the southwest, and then we were left becalmed, which lasted the entire day, and the sun became quite hot. In the night it blew very lightly east-southeast.

Sunday, July 3.—Day dawned with a great deal of fog and the wind rather fresh. We two fathers said Mass and Father Tomás preached the sermon. At eight the wind calmed and the fog changed to rain. At ten the east wind again began to blow. The pilots made observations and the captain said we were in forty degrees and thirty-four minutes.

About ten the wind changed to the southwest, rather fresh, and lasted all the afternoon and the following night.

Monday, July 4.—It dawned cloudy, with a heavy dew, the same wind as yesterday continuing all day. No observations could be made on account of the clouds, which began at two in the afternoon to discharge water. This lasted all the afternoon; but at night it cleared and a heavy dew fell.

Tuesday, July 5.—Dawn broke with the same wind, but it was not so fresh and cloudy. The day cleared, and the pilots were able to make observations, although they were not satisfied. They said the latitude came out thirty-four degrees and thirty-five minutes.[59]

Wednesday, July 6.—It dawned with heavy dew and fog, with the same wind, but fresher. At eight the wind began to decrease on account of the fog, which continued, and observations could not be made. At one the wind changed to the southwest. At five the wind calmed, the sky cleared, and the horizon opened, but no land was to be seen.

Thursday, July 7.—Day broke calm, with much fog, and such a heavy dew that it seemed like rain. We saw a number of sea wolves near the frigate. No observations could be made because of the fog. About seven in the evening it went off with the wind.

Friday, July 8.—Day dawned with the same fog as on the preceding days, with very light and variable gusts of wind from the north which calmed

every little while, so that at the best the ship did not sail over a knot an hour. At nine it calmed completely, and the fog gave no chance to observe with certainty. In the afternoon we had some gusts from the southwest, but they were light. This afternoon some birds were seen.

Saturday, July 9.—Day dawned with so much fog and dew that it seemed as though it had been raining all night, for the sails were very wet, and with the water that dripped from them the sailors filled two barrels. The calm continued all day with now and then a gust from the southwest. At midday the sky cleared somewhat, so that the pilots could make observations, and they said we were in forty-five degrees, with which we were all delighted, for we were now getting anxious. Immediately afterwards the clouds again closed down very dark, and in the afternoon a heavy rain fell.

Sunday, July 10.—Day broke with the same calm and fog. We both said Mass and the father companion delivered the sermon. About ten a very light south wind began to blow. At midday it cleared, and they observed the latitude; the captain said that we were in forty-five degrees and thirty-five minutes. At half-past eight in the evening it began to blow rather freshly from the southwest, and the bark sailed all night at the rate of two and a half knots an hour. This night the holy sacraments of penance and extreme unction were administered to a sailor who was very ill of a malignant fever.

Monday, July 11.—Day dawned with a south wind, very dark, with a thick fog. At midday it opened a little and they were able to make observations; the captain said that we were in forty-two degrees and twenty-three minutes. The wind grew fresher; at three o'clock we were sailing at the rate of three knots an hour, at times more. This afternoon it was very cold, and in the night it was even more uncomfortable, for the mist that the fog emitted seemed like snow.

Tuesday, July 12.—Day dawned with the same fog and very cold. About five in the morning the wind changed to the west-southwest, and became fresh, so that we sailed three knots. At ten it changed to the west, very strong and cold. It was very dark all day, for which reason no observations could be made. In the afternoon it cleared somewhat, and by night the weather was not so thick.

Wednesday, July 13.—The day opened very clear, with the wind northwest by west, and very strong, and we sailed at three knots. At seven o'clock it grew dark and cloudy, but at ten it again opened and the horizon cleared, so that they were able to make a perfectly satisfactory observation, and the captain told us we were in forty-eight degrees and five minutes. In the afternoon the wind slackened a little, although we sailed two and a half knots an hour.

Thursday, July 14.—Day opened with heavy fog and sprinkling, the preceding night having passed in the same way. At five it was blowing hard from

the west, and we were going at the rate of four and a half knots. At half-past seven we saw a rainbow in the west. Then a very hard squall struck us which caused a heavy swell and obliged them to take reefs in the fore-top sail of the main sail. As soon as the squall passed the rainbow disappeared, and the same west wind continued, rather fresh. Before twelve the sky cleared and the horizons became visible, so that it was possible to make observations. According to what the captain told us we were in fifty degrees and twenty-four minutes. At nine in the morning the prow was pointed north, with the object, according to what the captain said, of striking the coast, because, after examining the water supply, it was found that there was only enough for two months and a half, and lest something should happen we wished to make an effort to explore the coast to see if they could take on water, not knowing how long they might be on the return voyage to Monterey. At three in the afternoon the wind blew stronger from the southwest, becoming very fresh, so that we made four and a half knots with the prow to the north.

Friday, July 15.—Day dawned with the same thick, damp fog and cold mist as the preceding days, with a very fresh south wind, and such a heavy swell that the ship rolled badly. All this morning we made four knots an hour, and at times more, with the prow always pointed to the north. The cold increased greatly. At eight o'clock the wind changed to the southwest, becoming very fresh, and with it

they veered to the northwest, in order to strike the coast. The day went on clearing, and the captain said we were in fifty-one degrees and forty-two minutes.

To-day the captain assembled the officers of the frigate and explained to them the state of the water supply, and the danger to which they would be exposed in going farther up without taking on water, and asked whether they were of the opinion that it would be better to draw near the coast and look for an anchorage and take on water, or to continue as far as the latitude of sixty degrees as his Excellency ordered, and take on water in that latitude. After hearing the query of the captain, they were all of the opinion that it was best to make a landfall here for the purpose of providing themselves with water, and to look for an anchorage or place to put into in case of necessity. In view of the opinion of the officers he continued his search for the coast.

Saturday, July 16.—The day opened cloudy, although without fog, and with a southwest wind abaft, which we have had all this night and which lasted until nine o'clock, when it changed to the south. With this and a side wind we sailed three knots. At nine it began to clear, and we had a good sun, so that they could make satisfactory observations, and we found ourselves in fifty-two degrees and forty-one minutes. At four o'clock the wind again changed to the southwest, and we sailed with the breeze abaft at the rate of three knots an hour. The carpenters made a cross to-day about five varas

high, with the inscription INRI.* On the body of the cross is written *Carolus III Hispaniarum rex,*† and on its arms *año de 1774.* We intend to set it up as soon as we go ashore, although we have not yet sighted land.

Sunday, July 17.—Day dawned cloudy, but without fog, and we were almost becalmed, for the wind of the preceding night had gone down. We two said Mass, and in his the father companion made his talk, as he has done every Sunday when the weather has permitted. Although we had some fog this morning and a little shower, afterwards it cleared, and it was possible to make observations. According to what the captain told us we were in latitude fifty-three[60] degrees and three minutes. In this latitude the sun rises about four in the morning and does not set until eight at night, so that at nine at night it is still light, and at about three in the morning it is already beginning to grow light. If we had arrived one month earlier, according to what they say, we should have seen the sun set at nine.

Monday, July 18.—The day broke very dark and foggy, and at five o'clock a squall came with gusts of wind from the south and southeast, so that little progress was made. At about half-past eleven they said they made out land, and so it was that we began to see the coast. It was nearest to us on the prow

* Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum (Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews).

† Carlos III, King of the Spains.

toward the northeast, about sixteen leagues distant, and it seemed that it ended to the northwest by north, but it was so hazy and far away, at least twenty-five leagues, that it could not be seen distinctly. To the north it seemed to be low land, but to the northeast,[61] on the contrary, it was seen to be very high, with a high flat rock on it all covered with snow. Although the day cleared a little, so that we could see the land well, the sun did not permit itself to be seen enough to enable us to make an observation. About four in the afternoon the wind changed to the west-southwest, and with it they sailed two and a half knots an hour. Shortly after five it changed again to the northwest, being very gentle at the beginning; some progress was made with it, but at nightfall it died down completely.*

Tuesday, July 19.—The day broke cloudy but with the horizons clear, so that the land was plainly made out about eight or ten leagues distant, but there was the same calm as had prevailed all night.

* The land seen on July 18 was Queen Charlotte Island, British Columbia. Santa Margarita Point, which Pérez tried in vain to round on July 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22d, was Cape North, the northern point of Queen Charlotte Island. Cape Santa María Magdalena, the high point north of Santa Margarita Point, was Point Muzon, on Prince of Wales Island. The "bay, pocket, strait, or gulf" between these points, whose current prevented Pérez from rounding Santa Margarita Point, was Dixon Entrance. The Island of Santa Catarina or Santa Christina, to the northwest of Cape Santa María Magdalena, was Forrester Island (see Bancroft, H. H., *History of the Northwest Coast,* I, 151–155). The Indians so graphically described by Crespi were the Haida (J. R. Swanton, in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* I, 520–523).

We saw the coast clearly, and it seemed to us all that what we had in sight runs from north-northwest to south-southeast, and that its course ends to the north-northeast, where there is a cape, and from there it turns to the northeast.[62] Before seven the day was darkened by such a fog that the coast could scarcely be seen, and the calm continued.

At eleven o'clock the wind changed to the south-east, second quadrant, and rather fresh, and we began to move toward the cape which we had seen on the coast early in the morning, with the object of observing the trend of the coast from the other side of the cape toward the north. About twelve the sun came out and permitted itself to be seen clearly, consequently they were able to make observations, and the captain said that the latitude was fifty-three degrees and fifty-eight minutes. In the afternoon the wind freshened somewhat, and at five we were some three leagues from the land. We saw that from the cape that I have already mentioned the coast continued low toward the north. As it was now late, they tacked in order to draw away somewhat from the coast, turning the prow north by northeast.[63] At six o'clock we were at the cape, where we have been all night, during which we have had heavy swells and continuous mist.

Wednesday, July 20.—The day dawned with a very heavy fog, and nothing could be seen even at a short distance; the mist continued, with a strong wind from the east, and with a heavy swell and con-

stant rolling; the sails were let loose, and the prow was turned north by northeast. Before nine the day cleared somewhat and the land was plainly seen. They then tacked, turning the prow to the northeast in order to make an effort to approach a point of land. At ten o'clock we were about four leagues from it, and it seemed to us that it consisted of three islands. At midday no observations could be made because the fog obscured the sun. At three in the afternoon we were about two leagues from it, and the point that we had thought to be three islands seemed now to be one, and not far from the coast.

We saw the smoke of many fires made by the inhabitants of the point, and that the land was well covered with trees resembling pines. With that point the land formed a good bay, and we noticed that from a roadstead in the land a canoe was coming out and being rowed toward the frigate. While they were still some distance from the bark we heard them singing, and by the tone we knew them to be heathen, for they sing the same song as those from San Diego to Monterey. They drew near the frigate and we saw that there were eight men and a boy in the canoe, seven of them rowing, while the eighth, who was painted, was standing up in the attitude of dancing, and, throwing feathers on the water.

They made a turn around the frigate. From the balcony of the cabin we called to them to approach, and although at first they did not venture, no doubt feeling suspicious, by showing them handkerchiefs,

beads, and biscuit, they were induced to draw near the stem and receive everything that was thrown to them. A rope was put down for them to come up. Although they took hold of it, they did not venture to climb up; but, holding on to it, they followed us for quite a distance. When this canoe arrived it must have been four in the afternoon, and the weather had thickened with a dense fog. The wind was now against us, and for this reason the captain ordered the ship tacked, to put off drawing near the shore to make a landing until the following day.

The heathen, seeing that we were moving away from their land, invited us to it, and we understood from the signs they made to us that they had food and water there and a place for the bark to stay; and when we replied to them by signs that on the following day we would come, they went away. These people are very fat, of a good appearance, red and white in color, with long hair, and they cover themselves with skins of beaver and sea wolves. All or most of them wear rush hats, well woven, with a pointed crown. They are not at all noisy, and seemed to us to be mild and good-tempered. About half an hour after the canoe had left us we again heard singing, and saw another smaller one coming, and, joining the first, the two approached the frigate. In this second one six heathen came. As soon as the two canoes were near they were given various little things, and, being told that on the following day we would go to their land, they withdrew satisfied, after following us for quite a distance.

These canoes looked to us as though they were all one piece, very well hewn. They were made with keels, almost in the same way as those used in the channel of Santa Bárbara, except that these have a poop, which the others lack, and the prow is not open, as is customary in the channel. The oars are well made. We saw in them two very long[64] harpoons and two axes, one of which looked to me, by the way it shone, to be made of iron, but I could not be sure. We saw that the point of one of the harpoons was of iron, in the form of a pike.

After these canoes had gone, night having now fallen, while we were all reciting the rosary to Nuestra Señora de la Purísima Concepción, we heard singing again, and it was a third canoe which drew near with the same ceremonies as the preceding. When they noticed that no attention was paid to them, because every one was at prayer, they began to shout until the prayer of the rosary, and others special to some saints, were concluded, and we were singing the Alabado, which caused them great admiration. The prayer finished, as it was now dark the captain ordered that the lights be lit on board the frigate, and we saw a canoe with seven heathen. They were invited to come on board, but they either did not wish to do so or did not understand.

They were given some trifles and they reciprocated with some fish dried like cod, but whiter. A sailor obtained for a large knife that he gave them a well plaited rush hat of several colors; the crown

was conical in shape, about a span high, and the brim of the hat was not more than six inches wide. Another sailor bought from them for a large knife a very pretty little mat a yard square, woven of fine palms of two colors, white and black, which, being woven in little squares, makes a very good and handsome piece of work. This canoe remained close to the frigate about an hour. After we told them by signs to go away, as it was now very late, and that on the following day we would go their land, they departed content, and they had to go back about six leagues, for we were that far distant from land.

Thursday, July 21.—Day broke drizzling and with some fog, although not so much as on the preceding days, and with a strong wind from the southeast, and a heavy swell. At eight in the morning they tacked, turning the prow towards the point which we saw yesterday, and which was named by the commander Santa Margarita Point, on account of our having seen it yesterday, the day of that glorious saint. We sailed with a side wind, with the prow pointed east by north. No observation could be made because the day was cloudy.

At about twelve we were about a quarter of a league from Santa Margarita Point, along which we coasted to the east, where it seemed to us it made a bend, with the object of examining and making soundings in order to drop anchor and go ashore to plant on it the standard of the holy cross. But it

was impossible to double the point, or make sure whether it was an island or a point of terra firma, for the force of the current drove us to the south. Accordingly the captain ordered the bark put about, and when we were about a league off shore to the southeast,[65] the wind, which we had had all the morning and which had caused a great swell, went down; so we were becalmed, without being able to drop anchor, for as we were so far from land bottom could not be found.

The point of Santa Margarita mentioned is a medium-sized peak, high, and precipitous to the sea. It is densely wooded down to the edge of the sea with trees which we all thought looked like cypresses, of all sizes. This peak is about a league long and has two points, one southwest[66] by south, where we tried to drop anchor, and the other to the southeast, where a large bay begins to form. From this point the land continues low for about ten or more leagues, running to the southeast[67] as far as we could make out; and we saw that it was as well wooded as the point with the same kind of cypresses.

To the north of the southwest point of Santa Margarita, about sixteen leagues distant from it, we made out a very high cape, wooded in the same way with cypresses, which the commander named Cape Santa María Magdalena. From that cape the coast[68] continues very high and covered with trees, and as far as the eye can reach it runs from east to west. To the northwest of that coast we made out

what seemed to be a large island, which was called Santa Catarina, although we could not make sure whether it was an island, for it may have low land communicating with terra firma, and as we only saw it from a distance we could not solve the doubt.

Cape Santa María Magdalena is to the north of Point Santa Margarita, and between it and that point to the east it is like a very large bay, but we could not examine it or enter it, for the violence of the currents that came out of it drove us to the south, so we could not learn with certainty whether it is a bay, pocket, or strait. If it is a bay and not a strait, it may be that some large river empties into it, and causes that force of current which prevented us from entering and examining it. Cape Santa María Magdalena is about ten leagues distant from Point Santa Margarita, and this is the width of the mouth of the bay, pocket, strait, or gulf. Cape Santa María[69] Magdalena runs into the sea from the east. To the west is the island of Santa Catarina, near the point which it makes in that direction. It is not very far from the point, and for that reason we were in doubt whether or not it was an island.

After being becalmed for two hours, one league from land, opposite the point or peak of Santa Margarita, canoes began to come out, from the point on the southwest and from the one which faces east-southeast; and in a short time twenty-one of them drew near, some very large, some medium-sized, and others small. Among them there were two that

measured no less than twelve yards in the keel. In one of these came twenty men, and in the other nineteen.[70] In the medium-sized ones there were from ten to twelve persons, and in the smallest six or seven. In short, we saw ourselves surrounded by twenty-one canoes and more than two hundred persons, men, women, boys, and girls, for in most of the canoes there were some women.[71] Indeed, among the canoes there was one that contained women only, and there must have been twelve of them rowing and steering as well as the most dextrous sailor.

All those canoes came toward the side of the frigate, some singing and strumming wooden instruments like a drum or timbrel, and some in the attitude of dancing. They drew near the frigate, surrounding it on all sides, and a fair was opened at once between them and our people, for we understood that they came to trade with our folks and exchange their little trinkets for ours. Our people gave them some knives, cloth, and beads, in exchange for very well tanned skins of beaver and other animals not known to us, quilts of beaver skins cut in pieces and sewed together so skillfully that no tailor could have done it better; other quilts or blankets of fine wool, or hair of animals which resembled fine wool, woven and worked with thread made of the same hair in several colors, principally black, white and yellow. It is so closely woven that it seems to have been made on a loom, and all the quilts have fringes

around the edges made of the same hair twisted, so that they resemble table-spreads or rugs, for which they seem to be very suitable, as if they had been specially made for that purpose.

They also gave some little mats made of fine palms worked in various colors; some fine hats and other ordinary ones, most of them painted, and, as I said, conical in shape, with narrow brims and a cord to hold[72] them under the chin and keep the wind from blowing them away. They also gave some small wooden trays, well made and carved in half relief with figures of men, animals, and birds, and some wooden spoons, also well worked and carved on the outer side and smooth on the inner. One of them is quite large and made entirely of horn, though we could not recognize what animal it could have come from.

Our people also obtained two pine boxes, about a yard square, well made of boards, and sewed together at the four corners with cord instead of nails. They have no hinges or plates, but the lids are like those of trunks, fitting like powder chests. Inside they are rather rough, but outside they are well made and smooth, and in front they are carved in half relief with various figures and branches inlaid in them, and sea shells and snails so well fitted in that we could not perceive how they are inlaid. Some of them are painted in colors, principally in yellow and red. We saw these boxes in nearly all the canoes, some of them being a yard and a half

long, with a corresponding width. They use them to keep their things in and also to sit on while rowing. They also gave us some belts made of thread twisted from fine wool, well knitted. Of food, they only gave dried fish, as I said yesterday.

For all of the above, presents were given them in return, and it was perceived that they had a great fondness for articles made of iron for cutting; but they did not want small[73] pieces. It could not be seen either that they had any liking for beads, although they took them, just as they accepted biscuits and ate them without the slightest suspicion. I have already said that they were well formed Indians, with good faces, rather fair, with long hair, and some of them bearded. They all had the body entirely covered, some with beaver skins and others with cloaks woven of wool, or hair which resembles wool, in one piece in the manner of a cape, with which they are covered as far as the waist. The rest of the body is covered with tanned skins, worked in several colors and making a handsome trimming, some with sleeves and others without. Most of them wore hats of the kind already described.

The women are well dressed and covered the same as the men. They wear hanging from the lip a round piece of very thin wood which makes them very ugly, for at a distance it looks as though they have their tongues hanging out. They manage it with great facility and simply by a movement of the lip they raise it and cover the mouth and part of the

nose. Those who saw them nearer by said they have the lip pierced and hang the piece of wood from it. We do not know what their purpose is, whether it be to make themselves ugly or to adorn themselves. I am inclinde to the latter, for among the heathen found from San Diego to Monterey we have observed that when they go to visit another village they paint themselves in several colors, which makes them very ugly. Among the men we saw some painted with ochre of a very fine hue.

Although we invited these Indians to come aboard they did not venture, and only two had the courage to do so. They were shown everything, and they wondered greatly at what they saw in the frigate. They entered the cabin and we showed them the image of Our Lady, and after looking at it with much attention they touched it with their hands, no doubt to see if it were real. They were given some little gifts and told that we would go to their country. While these were on board two of our sailors leaped into their canoes, which delighted the Indians very much, and they made great demonstrations and danced with them, with such great expressions of joy that they could not have done more if they had been people known to them, giving it to be understood by the sign of placing their hands on their breasts that they liked them very much. From this we all infer that they are a very peaceable and docile people. Those in the canoes invited the sailors who had leaped into them to go with them to their land,

if they wished, but they excused themselves, saying they would go in the big ship with all the men.

It was impossible for us to approach on account of the calm, which lasted all the afternoon, and the currents drew us away from the land. Now very late the canoes bade us farewell and went to their land, with the promise that had been given them that we would go to visit them there. We understood them to tell us not to go farther up because the people there are very bellicose and murderous, a common ruse of the heathen to cause it to be believed that they are good and the rest are bad. They attracted our attention by their appearance, with their good-looking faces and their long hair well combed and made into a braid, and their clothing reaching almost to the heels; their well-woven cloth, and the other little objects that our men secured from them, of wood as well as of fiber, and also of marble. We were interested also to see that the women use rings on their fingers and bracelets of iron and copper, and the great value they set on them. Of these metals some were seen, though very little. The captain, who has been in the Philippines and China, said that these people greatly resembled the Sangleyes.* It is true that the weave of the fine little mats bears a marked resemblance to the work in those that come from China.

Although the night is very short, for the sun rises at four in the morning, it seemed long to us on account of the desire we all had to go ashore. Some

* Chinese traders in the Philippine Islands.

of the sailors who bought cloaks passed the night badly because they covered themselves with them and had to scratch, on account of the bites of the vermin which these heathen breed in their clothing.

Friday, July 22.—About two in the morning the southwest wind arose, though it was light. At five we were about four leagues distant from the land, traveling near it with the prow to the west by northwest, with the object of rounding the point of Santa Margarita and exploring to find out whether or not there is any anchorage in the bend that the coast makes behind that point. But the currents, which carried us far to leeward, did not permit us to reach that point. On the contrary, they forced us to put about with the prow to the south-southwest. At twelve o'clock, when we found ourselves parallel with Point Santa Margarita, the pilots made observations, and they told us that we were in latitude fifty-five degrees exactly, and so it is in this latitude that Point Santa Margarita is situated.

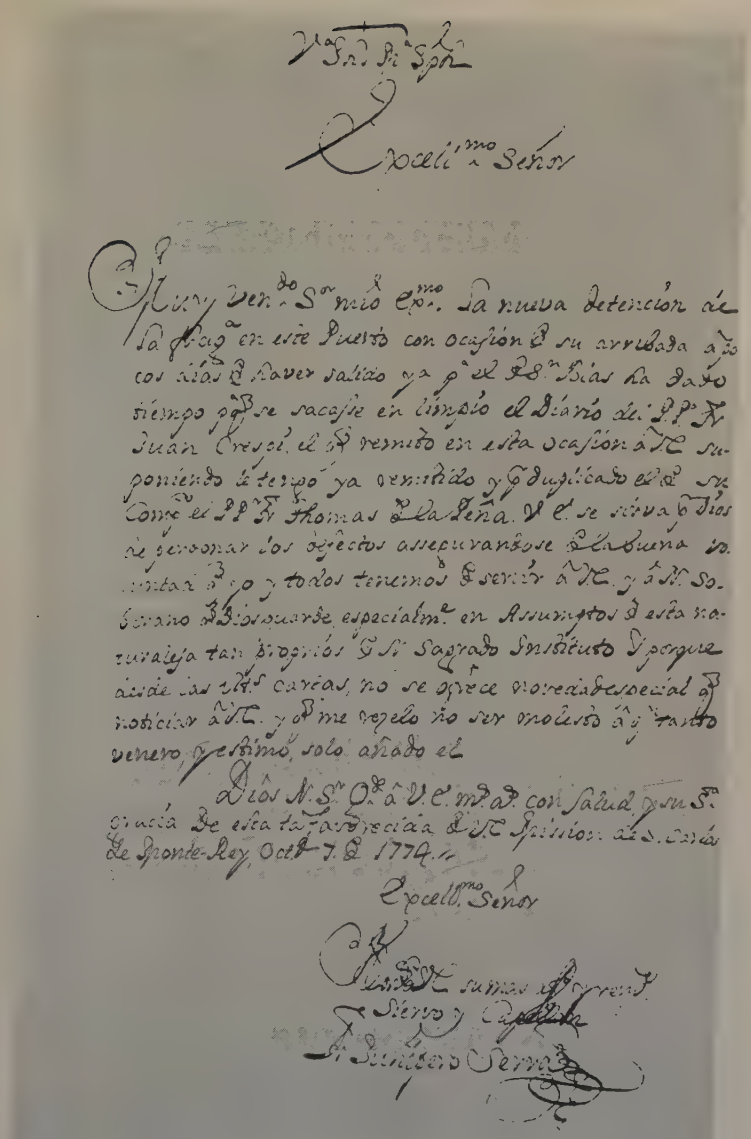
About one o'clock they turned the prow toward the land, but in two hours the wind changed to the west-southwest, and the prow was turned to the south. A little later the wind changed to the southwest and the prow was turned to the south-southwest.[74] The wind has been fresh all the time, and the afternoon very dark, with a heavy, thick fog, so that nothing could be seen, and so damp that it was like rain. For this reason, the contrary wind, the heavy swell, and the strength of the currents,

which were driving us toward the land, a course was taken out to sea, and the land was lost to sight.[75]

Saturday, July 23.—Day broke with a great swell by the prow, for we spent the whole night outside moving farther away from the land. The same wind, fog, and rain of the preceding night continued, in such a manner that during the entire day the sun has not permitted itself to be seen. On the contrary, at midday the wind changed to the west-southwest, and we ran to the south at the rate of two and a half or three knots an hour. Seeing that the weather was so contrary to the desired end of landing and exploring the coast, we decided to offer a novena to San Juan Nepomuceno, so that with his sovereign patronage he might obtain from the Lord favorable weather. The novena began this afternoon immediately after the conclusion of the daily prayer of the rosary of the Most Holy Mary, Our Lady.

Sunday, July 24, Day of San Francisco Solano, apostle of Peru, and patron of these South Seas.—The day broke clear for us, with a fresh west-southwest wind. The father companion said Mass and gave a talk, as on the other Sundays. But before Mass was finished the wind freshened very much, threatening a squall, and it was raining some, for which reason it was impossible to have a second Mass, and I had to be satisfied with only hearing that of the father companion.

Shortly after eight in the morning the weather again opened, and the day followed very clear and with a beautiful sun, which we have not had the good fortune[76] to see since we came up from forty degrees. At twelve o'clock we made observations, and we found ourselves in latitude fifty-three degrees and forty-eight minutes. The wind continues fresh and good, from west-southwest to west, and we are making good progress. Shortly after midday the prow was turned to the east. Although from six in the morning until three in the afternoon progress has been made at the rate of four knots an hour, we have not been able to make out the land, in spite of the fact that we have had the advantage of clear horizons. Before sunset the wind died down and land was descried, and according to what they say it is the same as we saw on the eighteenth, the low coast of which runs from Santa Margarita Point, from north to south, for about seven leagues. From that low coast, which is in fifty degrees and forty-two minutes, some high thick mountains begin, with several peaks, very high and covered with snow. They seemed to be well wooded, and although we could not distinguish what trees they were, we concluded that they were cypress, pine, and ash. After these trees came others; branches were even seen in the canoes that approached us opposite the point of Santa Margarita. These high mountains, which the commander called San Cristóbal, run from lati-



Serra's Letter transmitting Crespi's Diary to the Viceroy.
Archivo General de Indias.

tude fifty-four degrees and forty-four minutes as far as fifty-three degrees and eight minutes, from northwest to southeast by south, as seen from the sea. From the land it seems that their course runs from north-northwest to south-southeast.*

Monday, July 25, Day of our patron Santiago the Greater.—Dawn broke very clear and with a good sun, and we both said Mass. In mine the surgeon and two of the sailors took communion, and in that of the father companion the sacred viaticum was administered to the sick sailor, to whom we had given extreme unction fifteen days before, on account of the danger he was in at that time. Although day dawned with the same calm as we had the previous night, at six in the morning an east wind struck us from the coast, making it impossible to approach the land which we had in sight and only about eight leagues distant. It is the Sierra de San Cristóbal which I mentioned yesterday, and, according to the observation taken to-day by the captain, it is in latitude fifty-three degrees and twenty-one minutes. This high range has a length of about thirty-six leagues from a peak which it has to the north to another which it has to the south. After twelve a thick fog again came on. About six in the afternoon it began to rain, and it came down harder after nightfall. All day the contrary wind from the east had kept up, preventing us from approaching the

* The land seen on these days, till July 30, was the coast of Queen Charlotte Island, and the Sierra de San Cristóbal was a ridge on that island.

land, but in the night it veered off to the south-southeast and south. A little before seven the sailor to whom we had given[77] the sacraments to-day, died. He was named Salvador Antonio, and was native of the town of Guainamota. *Anima eius requiescat in pace.*

Tuesday, July 26.—Day dawned misting, and the weather was very dark, with a thick fog. For this reason it was possible to say only one Mass, which was celebrated by the father companion for the soul of the deceased already spoken of, with the body present, which was consigned to the water with the customary ceremonies as soon as Mass was concluded. The south wind gradually grew stronger, and by twelve it was so strong that it was about to drive us on the coast, which the thick fog did not permit us to see. The captain, fearing that we might be driven on the rocks of an unknown coast, ordered the ship put about, turning the prow to the west with a side wind, with only the fore-top sail of the mainmast, in order not to lose the altitude and not to withdraw too much from the coast because the wind grew constantly stronger. The wind increased till it caused such a heavy swell that we could scarcely endure the rolling. We passed all day and the first part of the night in this way, until eleven o'clock, when the wind changed to the southwest. Then they immediately put the ship about, turning the prow towards the coast, and taking all the steps necessary to accomplish the purpose of making a landing.

Wednesday, July 27.—The day broke very dark with thick fog and rain, and the same southwest wind blowing that had come up in the preceding night. With it we sailed towards the coast with the prow pointed south-southwest, and with a very heavy swell left us by yesterday's south wind. Before ten the day cleared and the sun was plainly seen, which gave an opportunity for making an observation, and the captain told us that we were in fifty-two degrees and fifty-nine minutes. After twelve o'clock the wind shifted a quarter more, and the prow was turned southeast by south. But about three it began to die down, so that at nightfall we were becalmed, although in the afternoon we had a good sun and the day was clear. We did not make out the coast, and at sunset the horizons were obscured. I do not know whether it was for this reason or because we were very far away that we could not descry the land.

Thursday, July 28.—Morning dawned with the same calm that came upon us last night. But the day was so clear that we made out the land about six or seven leagues distant, and a very high thick range of mountains is visible. The commander observed the extreme ends of it, which were clearly seen, one to the north and the other to the south. The northern one he marked to the north-northwest, and the southern one to the east, and the distance from extremity to extremity is about eighteen leagues. According to this demarkation this coast runs from northwest to southeast, although there may be some

error on account of the distance that we were from them when the survey was made. We saw very clearly the peaks which we discovered on the 18th of this month, covered with snow and now far away from us to the north.

This range, from where we saw it, seems to rise precipitously from the sea, although it may have a low beach which the distance does not permit us to see. We had no wind, but some light breezes, which gave us no opportunity to approach. At midday they made observations, and the captain told us that we were in fifty-two degrees and forty-one minutes. He again mapped out the land and the high mountain of San Cristóbal, and that part of them which lies more to the north he located to the northwest at a distance of about eighteen leagues, and the other end farther to the south he put more to the east-southeast. The light breezes continued all the afternoon and night.

Friday, July 29.—The day opened very cloudy, but without fog, and so we plainly saw the coast, which is about seven or eight leagues distant from us. We are now leaving behind us the peaks of San Cristóbal, which, according to the opinion of the captain, are about fifty leagues long, beginning with the point of Santa Margarita. This other coast which we have in sight to-day is also a moderately high mountain range, with some peaks, though not so high as that of San Cristóbal. It looks, seen from here at a distance, as though it rises precipitously

from the sea, and that it has some cliffs. If it can be seen and examined nearer by it will be possible to learn about it with certainty, and also whether it has a port, bays, or roadsteads; but, not knowing any more than we have seen up to now, I cannot give any further report than what has been said, namely, that its course is from northwest to southeast, and that according to the survey that has been made it is situated east-northeast of us.

There has been no sun to enable us to make observations for the purpose of marking the latitude, for during the entire day the clouds have prevented us from seeing the land. About ten in the morning the wind changed to the southwest, and then they turned the prow to the southeast, but in a short time it died down, and little by little we were left in a calm which lasted all night.

Saturday, July 30.—Although the morning broke very cloudy, the day was clear, and without fog. At daybreak we found ourselves quite a distance from the coast, which was visible, because at dawn the wind freshened a little, southeast by south. At half-past eleven the wind changed somewhat to the south, and they veered toward the coast, but it was impossible to make the observation because at half-past twelve the wind again turned to the southeast and they again turned the prow to the southwest. The wind continued to freshen all the time, causing a strong swell at the prow, which made the frigate pitch and roll so much that we could not keep our

feet. It remained so during the afternoon and night, which was certainly very wearisome, not only on account of that but because it rained; the storm was weathered with the foresail and mainsail alone.

Sunday, July 31.—The day broke very cloudy and raining, although the wind had gone down somewhat. It has not been possible to say Mass to-day on account of the rain, as well as of the great rolling and pitching. The wind continues south-southeast, but not so strong as last night, and we pointed the prow to the southwest without seeing land. The sun shone a little and gave an opportunity to make observations, and we found that we were in fifty-one degrees and fifty-eight minutes. During the afternoon and part of the night the same wind and swell continued. This afternoon we concluded the novena to San Juan Nepomuceno for the success of the voyage.

Monday, August 1.—It dawned very cloudy with a southwest wind that came up at one o'clock in the night, and from that hour we kept the prow to the south-southeast, with the object of approaching the coast again. At eight the sky cleared and the sun was seen, so that observations could be made, and we found ourselves in fifty-one degrees and fifty-eight minutes. After twelve the wind calmed somewhat, varying from south to southwest. At six in the afternoon the wind veered to the west and lasted so all night, allaying the swell which had molested us for two days.

Tuesday, August 2.—It dawned cloudy, but in a short time the sun scattered the clouds and showed itself. The west wind lasted until four in the morning, when it drew off somewhat, changing to the west-northwest, fourth quarter, favorable now for approaching the coast, thanks to God, for which purpose the prow was turned to the southeast.[78] At midday observations were made and we found ourselves in fifty degrees and twenty minutes. When he saw how far we had gone down, the captain ordered the prow turned east by southeast.[79] The same wind lasted fresh all the afternoon and the following night; about six in the afternoon a heavy fog came in.

Wednesday, August 3.—Day dawned with the same west-northwest wind, and the same fog that came in on us yesterday afternoon, so thick that nothing can be seen from stern to prow. Shortly after nine the northwest wind began to blow, and was very welcome because it was the most favorable for coasting and examining the shore. With it the prow was turned east by southeast, and it is gradually freshening, so that up to half-past eleven or twelve progress was made at the rate of five leagues an hour. The heavy fog has continued, and only at midday did it clear slightly in the place necessary to make observations. We found ourselves in forty-nine degrees and twenty-four minutes.

The captain noticed to-day that the needle varies by two quarters. In view of this and of the fact that the horizon was obscured by the fog, and that the

coast cannot be very far away, he was fearful of striking upon it unexpectedly, so he ordered that two reefs be taken in the sails and the prow turned southeast by south. At five in the afternoon the day brightened a little, so that the sun came out clearly and the horizons opened, but there was no land to be seen in any direction, although we imagined it to be near. Accordingly, the captain ordered the prow turned to the east. The northwest wind went on freshening every moment, so that with only the foresail and the main-topsail, with only one reef, we ran at the rate of four and a half knots an hour. At night it freshened more, so much so that it compelled us to lay to, and at ten at night the fog came down again.

Thursday, August 4.—About four in the afternoon a very strong north wind arose, so that with only the foresail and main-topsail, with only one reef, we ran about five knots an hour, in a fog so thick that we could not see from stern to prow. The sea was getting rough and the north wind blew harder every moment, and by eight o'clock the frigate could bear it no longer. Seeing this, the captain ordered all the sails furled, leaving us with bare mast, and only the fore-topsail flying, and the prow turned to the southeast.

About eleven the sky cleared and the sun came out and scattered the fog, giving us an opportunity to make observations, when we found ourselves in forty-eight degrees and fifty-two minutes. Until after dinner we ran under the fore-topsail only, at

the rate of three knots an hour. As the horizon had opened and the coast was not in sight, and the wind was slackening, the captain ordered the sails unfurled and the prow turned to the northeast,[80] for the purpose of finding out whether the coast could be made out in any place. The same wind continued, but later it slackened, and it was noticed that we were sailing at four knots an hour. The night was passed in the same way. This afternoon, after the daily prayer of the rosary to Our Lady and devotions to some special saints, we began a new novena to Santa Clara, making of this glorious saint an intercessor, to obtain from the Lord favorable weather and clear days for the purpose of exploring the coast.

Friday, August 5.—It dawned very clear, without fog, and the horizons open, but no land was to be seen in any direction. The same north wind as yesterday continued, but not so fresh, and we turned the prow to the northeast. Before twelve the north wind went down somewhat and we then sailed not more than two and a half knots an hour, and in the afternoon only two. To-day the pilots made a perfectly satisfactory observation, and we found ourselves in forty-eight degrees exactly.

Saturday, August 6.—At daybreak we had a fresh northwest wind, with the prow pointed northeast[81] by north, and the day came out very clear, without clouds or fog and with a good sun, better than we have seen on any other day. About eleven land was made out, although distant, and it looked

to us like a very high, snow-covered mountain range. At twelve they made observations, and we found ourselves in forty-eight[82] degrees and fifty-two minutes, although the captain said we were in the same latitude as yesterday, forty-eight degrees exactly. In the afternoon a thick fog closed down on the coast, so that it was scarcely possible to see the shore at sunset. The wind then began to die down little by little so that at nightfall we were in a calm that lasted all night.

Sunday, August 7.—Day dawned with the same calm as last night, and darkened by a fog so thick that nothing could be seen even from stern to prow. We both said Mass; in that of the father companion, who gave the sermon, the boatswain took communion. The fog and calm lasted all day and night, so that no observation could be made. This afternoon some large fish like taurones were seen, but they said they were not taurones. They are the first fish that we have seen on this voyage.

Monday, August 8.—The day dawned very cloudy and with signs of rain. About four in the morning the wind began to blow from the east and we got out of the calm. We began to sail with the prow to the north and northeast.[83] Before eight the wind changed to the southeast, second quarter, and the prow was turned to the northeast[84] with the object of drawing near the coast. Although the day has been rather cloudy, they did not fail to make observations, and the pilot told us that we were in forty-nine degrees and five minutes. Before dining

we made out the land, and it seemed to be a low mountain range, not far away, but as it was very cloudy it could not be seen clearly. At four o'clock we were near it, about four leagues distant. Although the wind was slowly going down, we were able to approach, and when we were within two leagues they made soundings, and a bottom was found in twenty-four to twenty-two fathoms.*

Two small canoes came from the land; in one of them there were four men and in the other three. Before reaching the frigate they began to shout and make gestures that we should go away. Our people persuaded them to approach without fear, and gave them to understand that we were looking for water, but either they did not understand or paid no attention, for they went back to land, and with the little wind that was blowing we drew near. At six in the afternoon, being within one league of land, they made soundings, and bottom was found in twenty-five fathoms and the anchor was dropped, with which anchorage was made at that hour. All wind stopped, and we were becalmed, waiting until the next day to go ashore and plant the holy cross there and take possession of the land in the name of our Catholic monarch, whom God save.[85]

* The land seen on August 6th was Vancouver Island, whose coast they now followed. San Lorenzo harbor, where they anchored on the 8th, has been identified with Nootka Sound, which fifteen years later became a bone of contention between Spain and England. (Bancroft, H. H. *History of the Northwest Coast,* I, 155). The Indians described by Crespi were the Wakasha (J. R. Swanton, in Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians,* II, 894–896).

CHAPTER XLVIII

APPEARANCE OF SOME COASTING CANOES OF THESE NATIVES

We made out the land clearly, and it is a roadstead, which the captain named the roadstead of San Lorenzo. It has the shape of a C. It is low, and well forested, but we could not distinguish what kind of trees they were. This roadstead has little protection from winds; it forms two points, one on the southeast being called San Estevan in honor of the second pilot. From this point the low mountain range begins, well grown with trees, and it continues in this way for four or five leagues to the northwest, when it becomes a high range, running to the point that was called Santa Clara, to which saint we were making the novena for the purpose of preparing ourselves for her day. About a league from this low range of the roadstead of San Lorenzo we saw a very high range equally as well forested as the former, and behind that range we made out to the north another still higher one with several peaks covered with snow. I am of the opinion that in this roadstead there is protection only from northwest to southeast, and that all the rest of the winds are open.[86]

While we were dropping anchor about eight in the evening, three more large canoes came. They carried fifteen men, who remained apart from the frigate and wept, shouted, and hurrahed. We called to them and they came a little nearer, and we asked them by signs if they had any water, but they either did not understand or paid no attention, and returned to land. But, meeting on the way two more canoes, they came back, and the five came within gunshot of the bark; but, in spite of all the signs and calls that were made to them from on board, they were not willing to come nearer, and remained until eleven at night talking among themselves and now and then shouting. These canoes are not so large as those that we saw at the Point of Santa Margarita, for the longest of them did not exceed eight varas. Nor are they of the same shape, for they are higher in the prow and flatter in the stern. The oars in these canoes are more ornate than those in the former, for they are polished and painted in several colors, making a blade which ends in a point about a span long. Most of these canoes are made of one piece, but we saw some made of different pieces well put together.

Tuesday, August 9.—Day broke calm like the preceding night. The horizon was clear in the northwest, but in all other directions it was obscured by thick fog. As soon as it was light they set to work to put the launch into the water, for the purpose of going to land to set up there the holy cross.

While we were occupied in this maneuver we saw fifteen canoes coming from shore.[87] We saw that about a hundred men and some women, though not many, were coming in them. They were given to understand that they might approach without fear, and they drew nearer and began to trade with our people whatever they had brought in their canoes. All this consisted only of skins of beaver and other animals not known to us, and some hats like those which I said we saw at the point of Santa Margarita, except that these end the conical point with a little ball shaped like a pear, made of the same rushes or palms, and some fabrics woven of thread similar to hemp, with a fringe around the edge of the same thread.

Our people bought some skins woven like cloaks, and some hats, paying for them with knives, cloth and shells that the sailors had gathered on the beach at Monterey and in Carmelo River, and we saw that they took great delight in these shells and knives. None of fabrics of wool and fine hair like those of Santa Margarita were seen among these people, but some pieces of iron and copper and pieces of knives were seen. We observed that these people are as well formed as those of Santa Margarita, but not so well dressed or covered. They are clothed with the skins of beaver and other animals and the fabrics spoken of made of thread. They also wear a sort of cape made of fiber from the bark of trees. They wear their hair long. The

women that we saw do not wear the round piece of wood in their lips like those of Santa Margarita, for which reason they are not so ill-looking as the former.

About six in the morning, the launch being now ready to go to land, the wind came up from the west, and it was noticed that it was driving us toward the shore, dragging the anchor. The captain immediately ordered it raised, in order to set sail and tack up and down while the launch went to land and returned, but the strong wind and heavy swell were steadily driving us upon the shore. Seeing this, and the evident peril of shipwreck, the captain took the best course, losing the anchor and part of the stream cable, for he ordered the latter to be cut. We then set sail, turning the prow to the southwest by south, and with much difficulty we managed to round a rocky point which runs out about a league into the sea.

After we had passed the point and were now separated about three leagues from the land, the wind and waves became so violent that it was necessary to furl all sails and keep only the small foretopsail in order to raise the launch on board, for only by a miracle we had not lost it and the sailors that were in it. As soon as the launch was up the sails were loosed, and the prow turned to the south-southwest. The wind grew stronger and the swell was higher. At midday they were able to make observations and we found ourselves in forty-four

degrees and twelve minutes. In the afternoon the wind gradually went down, so that by night it was now calm.

Wednesday, August 10.—Dawn broke with the same calm as the preceding night, with the sky clouded, but without the usual fog, and we were accordingly able to make out the coast, although it was about fifteen leagues off. Both of us were able to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass of the glorious San Lorenzo. It remained cloudy all day, without permitting the sun to be seen or observations to be taken; the calm continued all day and night.

Thursday, August 11.—Day dawned with the same calm, and the weather was also cloudy. About nine it cleared and the sun appeared, and we saw to the east a very high peak, distant from us about eighteen leagues, and it seemed to us that it had red spots that looked like cliffs. Some said that it was snow, or a hill near the beach with great sand dunes. At the hour mentioned a moderate northwest wind came up. At twelve they made observations and found that we were in forty-eight degrees and nine minutes. In the afternoon the wind freshened somewhat, and we sailed at the rate of three knots every hour. Consequently we drew near again to the land and the high peak covered with snow is plainly visible; and on each side of it, to the northeast and east-southeast,[88] farther inland than the peak, are to be seen also large patches of snow on the mountain

range. Because it was a snow-covered peak and because it made so conspicuous a figure out at sea, the captain was not willing to leave it without a name, so he called it Cerro Nevado[89] de Santa Rosalía.* As there was a very favorable northwest wind, we sailed all day with the prow to the east to see if we could arrive tomorrow near the range, in order to go ashore and plant the holy cross on it. The same wind continued until night, when it changed to the south-southeast.

Friday, August 12.—Day dawned raining, and so dark with a thick fog that at four paces off we could not see each other. As I said yesterday, at midnight a very strong south-southeast wind came up and with a swell from the southwest we ran with the prow to the east toward the snow-covered[90] peak of Santa Rosalía. At daylight we were already near it, but could not see it on account of the thick fog. The captain, being fearful that we might strike on shore unexpectedly, ordered the ship put about and the prow turned to the southwest, in order to escape the perils until such time as the weather should clear a little. Although both of us fathers had a lively desire to say Mass, and all wished to hear it, as it was the day of Santa Clara, to whom we concluded a novena to-day, it was impossible to say even one Mass, on account of the rain, the strong wind, and the heavy rolling, for which reason we conformed

* This snow-covered mountain, Cerro Nevado de Santa Rosalía, has been identified as Mount Olympus, Washington (Bancroft, H. H., *History of the Northwest Coast,* I, 156).

to the will of God and offered him our sincere prayers. At eleven in the morning the wind blew from the west-southwest, and they again put the ship about and turned the prow to the coast, the weather continuing dark and not permitting the sun to be seen all day. The day, or rather all the afternoon and night, were spent in tacking in order not to draw away too far from the land.

Saturday, August 13.—The morning dawned very cloudy, but without the low fog, and we found ourselves in sight of the coast, some three or four leagues from land, which could be partly seen, but not entirely. Farther inland it was very cloudy. The coast at which we are looking is low land, some of it medium high, and well forested with trees all the way from the snow-covered peak of Santa Rosalía, which is now left behind to the north. All through the mountains we can see the smokes of many fires, showing that the coast is populated. Ever since dawn broke, with the west wind which came up last night, we sailed with the prow pointed to the southeast, with the object of running along the coast to see if some bay could be discovered in which to make soundings; but the wind gradually died down. At ten it changed to the southwest and grew stronger, being unfavorable for running along the coast and being near the shore. In order to avoid all peril they turned the prow to the south-southwest. The very cloudy day gave no opportunity to make observations. Shortly after twelve we could no

longer see the land because we were so far from it.

At daybreak this morning when it was clear in the north, the captain marked out the land, and he tells me that according to the observation that he took the coast runs from the snow-capped peak of Santa Rosalía as far as San Blas, about eight hundred leagues, from northwest by north to the southeast, half a quarter to the south.[91]

Sunday, August 14.—Day dawned very cloudy and every little while squalls came with showers. The swell which came to us from the west caused such heavy rolling that we could not keep our feet, for which reason it was impossible to say Mass.[92] About seven in the morning the clouds opened, and we could see something of the land, and we must be about seven or eight leagues distant from it. At eight o'clock the wind changed to the northwest, very light and variable. Shortly before twelve the sun showed itself and we were able to make observations, but not satisfactorily, for while we were engaged at it a squall came up and the sun was hidden; but, judging by the little that we made out, the captain said we were in forty-six degrees and eight minutes. Although in the afternoon the weather cleared up well, we could not now descry the coast. At nightfall the wind changed to the north, very fresh, and with it we sailed at the rate of three and a half knots an hour with prow[93] to the south-southeast.

Monday, August 15.—The day dawned very clear, the sun coming out with the same fresh north wind.

There was a heavy swell from the west which caused constant rolling, so that we thought we should have to remain without Mass, but my companion got up courage to say it and the rest of us heard it. The captain, the surgeon, and three sailors took communion. At sunrise the coast was plainly made out, and we were four or five leagues distant from it. We could see quite a stretch of what was marked out by the captain from northwest to south-southeast.[94] It is low land, but in parts rises somewhat, all covered with trees that looked to us like pines, but we did not see any snow on it. From three in the morning, when land was sighted, until eight, the prow was turned to the south by southwest,[95] and at eight it was headed to the south-southeast. At twelve the pilots made observations and found that we were in forty-four degrees and thirty-five minutes.

We were coasting all the morning some three leagues distant from land, and in the afternoon we did the same, seeing the coast more clearly, as it was not so hazy. The farther we descended to the south the lower the land became; we saw some level country on the shore, without trees but with plenty of grass; cliffs rising precipitously from the sea, and some canyons or openings which run from northwest to southeast. About six in the afternoon they noticed that the mountains were coming out by the prow, and the captain at once ordered it turned to the south-southwest. The wind lasted all night, so fresh

that at nightfall we were traveling at the rate of five and a half knots an hour.

Tuesday, August 16.—The day dawned very clear, but the horizons were totally obscured by a thick fog, so that the land could not be made out, either because of the fog or because we were so far from it. Day broke with the same fresh north wind, although as soon as the sun came up it calmed a little. Early in the morning the prow was turned to the south-southeast, and during the whole night we had been running to the south. At nine we were almost becalmed, and we were all day with only a puff of wind now and then. At that hour the thick fog which covered the horizon in the morning came in and shut us in so completely that nothing could be seen a few steps away.

At twelve the sun allowed itself to be seen through the fog, just enough to permit the observation, which, according to what the captain said, came out forty-two degrees and thirty-eight minutes. In view of this observation and what is related in the voyage of General Sebastián Vizcaíno, we conjectured that here ought to be the Cape Blanco of San Sebastián and that famous river discovered by Martín de Aguilar, for although this was placed by the old diaries in latitude forty-three degrees, yet, as it has been noticed that in the same places where they made observations a lesser latitude has been shown by the new and better adjusted instruments, it is to be believed that Cape Blanco and the river

spoken of must be in a lower latitude than that which is set down by the ancients. And so it may be that we are in the latitude of that cape, but the fog gives no opportunity to see the land. A little before midday a very strong north wind came down on us which lasted all night. The prow was pointed south by southwest, and the wind was driving so hard that it was only possible to keep the frigate under the fore-topsail, with which it made considerable progress.

Wednesday, August 17.—The day broke very cloudy like the preceding, with the prow to the south, but as soon as the sun rose the fog lifted on the horizons, but it continued until about midday, when it cleared up completely; but we did not see land, and are therefore far away from it. At midday observation was made and we were found to be in forty-two degrees and twenty-seven minutes. Up to now we have sailed at four knots an hour, although we were only carrying the fore-topsail. After twelve the captain ordered the prow turned to the south-southeast, towards the coast. All the afternoon and night the north wind continued, but not so fresh as in the morning.

Thursday, August 18.—Morning broke very dark and foggy, so that at a few steps we could not see each other, a great difficulty in sailing on unknown coasts, for if there should be islands or shoals there would be no one left to tell our story. At dawn this morning the north wind calmed somewhat, but

it lasted all day, although we did not fail to make some progress with the prow to the southeast. The day continued dark with fog, and for this reason no observations could be made nor could the land be seen.

Friday, August 19.—Dawn broke with the same fog as on the preceding days, with such a heavy dew that it seemed to have been raining, and with the calm that came on us last night. So it remained all day, with only now and then a puff of wind that was scarcely preceived, and with the same darkness as in the morning, not permitting the sun to be seen.

Saturday, August 20.—Dawn broke with the same fog, dew, and calm, which continued all day, with now and then a puff of wind, although the horizons were obscured with fog all day; but at twelve the sun showed itself a little, and observations were made with a great deal of trouble, showing us to be in thirty-nine degrees and forty-eight minutes.

Sunday, August 21.—Day dawned with the same fog as the preceding days, with such a heavy dew that it seemed like rain, and extremely cold. From this it has resulted that with the wetting of the preceding days and the cold that they have suffered, the greater part of the crew are incapacitated from scurvy, with which nearly all are afflicted, some very seriously. I also have been so badly affected in the mouth that I have not been able to celebrate Mass, but my companion celebrated and gave the

sermon. Until twelve noon we were becalmed, but at that hour a southeast wind came up, though gentle and contrary; notwithstanding, they turned the prow to the east-northeast toward the coast. At twelve o'clock the sun permitted itself to be seen, and they were able, though with difficulty, to make observations, and we found ourselves to be in thirty-nine degrees and thirty minutes. The wind which prevailed was so light that in the afternoon we were becalmed, and it continued even in the night.

Monday, August 22.—It dawned with the same calm as last night, the day somewhat cloudy, but without the usual fog. At sunrise we saw the coast, from which we were distant about six leagues. Through the fog we saw the top of the mountain range toward the north about six leagues distant; we saw also an elevated cape, but above it we saw no land, for which reason we judged that there the coast must take another direction. This cape in the opinion of the captain, is the one named Mendocino, which he marked out to the northwest, five degrees to the north. From the cape named, for about ten leagues to the south, it is all high land, with several openings that we believed to be canyons, all the land being well forested with trees that resembled pines.

Beyond that high land to the south we made out about five leagues of coast not so high, and the rest that followed seemed to be still lower land, all covered with trees. Soon after we had seen that

coast the thick fog came down and hid the land from us. Before seven in the morning the southeast wind began to blow, and they were compelled to put the prow to the south-southwest, withdrawing again from the coast because the wind gave no opportunity to do anything else. At nine o'clock the day opened a little, and about twelve they were able to make observations, the latitude coming out thirty-nine degrees and forty-six minutes. So we have ascended since yesterday afternoon. In the night our prow was pointed to the east-northeast, and with the puffs of wind, though they were light, we must have traveled some leagues, and so this higher latitude results. After making this observation the captain told me that according to the computation that he had made, Cape Mendocino, which we left above, is in latitude forty degrees, a few minutes more or less. The light winds continued without increase until sunset, when we were becalmed, and remained so all night.

Tuesday, August 23.—The day dawned foggy, but some said that through the fog at the left they made out land. After six the light wind from the south-southeast again came up, and it was necessary to turn the prow southeast, the wind gradually freshened and it was turned to the southeast by south. The sun has been seen very little, and at midday it was even less visible so that no observation could be made. The light wind ceased at sunset and we were left becalmed. Seeing, then, that these

calms are continuing, that the weather is so contrary to us, and that the sick are getting worse and their number increasing, it was decided to offer a novena to Nuestra Señora de Talpa, imploring her sovereign patronage. After her most holy rosary was finished we began, and in a short time we experienced her patronage; for shortly after eight the east wind began to blow, though gently. It lasted until after midnight, when it changed to the northeast, quite fresh, remaining so until after midnight, when it changed to the north, and the prow was pointed to the east. In this way we made good progress, thanks to God and His Most Holy Mother, to whom a promise was made to sing a Mass on the day of her nativity if she permits us to arrive safely.

Wednesday, August 24.—The north wind was blowing at daybreak and the day was rather clear, permitting the sun to be seen in the morning. We were both able to celebrate the holy sacrifice of the Mass; although during the second it began to cloud up and rain, the water did not reach us. But the effect of the rain, which we saw as far as our eyes could reach, was to calm the wind and bring a heavy swell, which made us roll until we were weary. This annoyance lasted all day and all the following night.

Thursday, August 25.—Day broke with the same calm and swell, and darkened with thick fog. About eleven a rather gentle wind from the southeast came up, and they put the prow to the northeast, with the object of not withdrawing from the coast. Towards

twelve the sun allowed itself to be seen, and, though with difficulty, they made observations, and the captain told us that we were in thirty-eight degrees and thirty-two minutes. This light wind lasted until seven at night, and the fresh northwest wind did not cease, so that some progress began to be made. Before nine the wind changed to the northwest and lasted until morning, our prow being pointed southeast by south.

Friday, August 26.—Day dawned cloudy, with a thick fog, so that nothing could be seen. About four in the morning the wind changed to the west-northwest and the prow was turned to the east-southeast. In a short time it calmed and at nine o'clock a fresh northwest wind came up. About ten they said they made out land at the prow, with some difficulty on account of the fog. The captain says they are the farallones of the port of Our Father San Francisco. The first descend from north to south. They say there are two rows of them about five leagues from the mainland, extending from northwest to southeast, about a league and a half distant from each other. We passed about a league from the first row, which we saw very clearly. They are the ones lying to the north, comprising seven farallones, not very large nor similar. The one in the middle is rather more elevated than the rest, and they are all separate from each other. It seems that no mention is made of them in the histories in the voyage of General Vizcaíno. To avoid

them they turned the prow to the south-southeast, and about midday we left them at the stern. If the sun had come out it would have been a good opportunity to note their latitude with accuracy.

At the same hour of midday we began to make out the second row of farallones, of which there are also seven, very high, and from a distance they appear to be contiguous. They look like an island with seven peaks, some higher than others, and they occupy a stretch of about a league. It seems that the admiral Cabrera Bueno speaks of them when he says they are a good sign by which to recognize the harbor of San Francisco, for the seven are stretched in front of Point Reyes, and to the north, in the bay that this point begins to form, is the harbor mentioned.

The farallones that we made out on October 31 in the land expedition with which I went in the past year of 1769 are distinct from all these which I have just seen. For it was not possible to see these from the place whence we observed the others on the land expedition, which was the beach of the bay, on the other side nearly opposite Point Reyes. But after leaving this beach we made them out, and they bore west by north from us, that is to say, two quarters. These farallones which we have just seen, and of which we made mention, run from northwest to southeast. But when we marked out the farallones on the land expedition we were inside the bay, or great pocket, and only distant from the mouth of

the great estuary about three leagues. We had the seven farallones in sight, and we saw them not far off, and we saw Point Reyes not far from us, at the most eighteen leagues by air line. And, as the two chains of farallones which we have seen to-day are about five leagues from the coast of Point Reyes, it follows that these must be distant twenty-three leagues from the place where the land expedition was, and consequently they cannot be the same ones, but must be different, and so in the land expedition we would not see these two rows that we have passed to-day. I make a note of this to prevent error.

Saturday, August 27.—Dawn broke with the same favorable wind from the northwest, and very fresh, which we were fortunate enough to have all last night. About six in the morning we were already opposite Point Año Nuevo, and we immediately began to enter the bay of Monterey, in which port we dropped anchor about four in the afternoon, although we did not disembark until the following day, after we two friars had said Mass. Thanks be to God and His most pure Mother, who have allowed us to arrive safely in this port, although with the disappointment of not having obtained the principal end of sailing as far as sixty degrees and landing to plant on it the standard of the holy cross, and to take possession of that land in the name of our monarch, Don Carlos III.

May His Divine Majesty grant that this voyage may serve at least to move the heart of our king

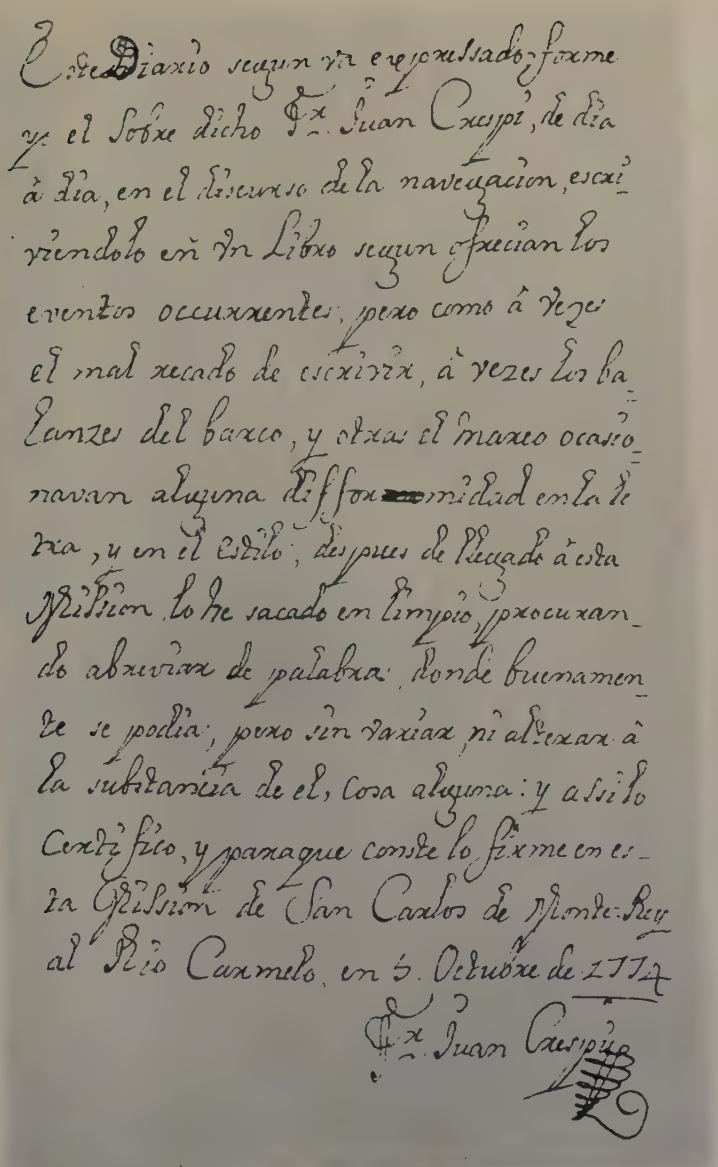
and the Christian zeal of his Excellency the Viceroy, so that, with the greater light that will now be had about these coasts and the good people with which they are populated, another new expedition may be sent, with missionary laborers to plant in it our Holy Faith and convert that immense body of heathen, who, I do not doubt, will come into the fold of our Holy Mother Church, so that the number of her sons and the vassals of our king may thus be augmented. I thus pray the Lord, to whom be all honor and glory. Amen.*

FRAY JUAN CRESPI

This diary was sent to his Excellency the Viceroy by the same frigate which, having passed the equinox in the port of Monterey, sailed from it for the port of San Blas on the ninth of October of the same year of 1774. One month before this there was sent by way of California to his Excellency, by messenger overland, the diary kept by the father preacher, Fray Tomás de la Peña, which contained the same

* "In this expedition Juan Pérez, though he had not reached latitude 60°, as instructed, nor discovered any good ports, nor landed anywhere to take possession for Spain, nor found either foreign establishments or proof of their non-existence, had still gained the honor of having discovered practically the whole Northwest Coast. He had surveyed a large portion of the two great islands that make up the coast of British Columbia, giving the first description of the natives; he had seen and described, though vaguely and from a distance, nearly all of the Washington coast, and a large part of the Oregon. He had given to his nation whatever of credit and territorial claims may be founded on the mere act of first discovery" (Bancroft, H. H., *History of the Northwest Coast*, pp. 156–57).

things in substance. On account of the long delay that it will have on the long road as well as at the presidio of Loreto, they will arrive almost at the same time in the hands of his Excellency, and copies of both of them at our College. Of the results of this expedition I will give an account in its proper place, as soon as reports arrive at this mission of San Carlos.



Last page of Crespi's Diary of 1774.

From the Sevilla MS., Archivo General de Indias. Palóu's version omits this page.

PART THREE

MEMOIRS OF NEW CALIFORNIA

STATE OF THE FIRST FIVE MISSIONS IN DECEMBER, 1773
A NEW EXPLORATION OF SAN FRANCISCO BAY, AND
THE END OF THE TROUBLE OVER THE STOCK
AND CHURCH EQUIPMENT SENT
FROM OLD CALIFORNIA

CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF THE FIRST FIVE MISSIONS[96]

In Part One, in chapter thirty-seven and those following, it has been said that after the missions of California had been delivered to the reverend Dominican fathers, we six friars set out from the missions of California for these of Monterey, and, after our arrival at San Diego on the thirtieth of August, the distribution of these friars was made to the five missions already founded, in the interval before they went on to the founding of the three that remain to be founded and are recommended by his Excellency, as has also already been stated.[97] His Excellency also charges the father president to inform him every year of the state of the missions and their progress, in all that concerns the spiritual as well as temporal matters, as he says in the decree in which he approves of the agreement made between the father guardian of my College and the father master, Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, commissary of the reverend Dominican fathers, which is copied in Part One, chapter three.

In view of this charge and in order to put it into effect, as soon as I arrived at the first mis-

sion of San Diego I informed myself of its state, in spiritual as well as temporal affairs, making notes of everything for the purpose of preparing afterward by means of them a truthful and complete report. I did the same in all the missions, and on arriving at the last one, San Carlos de Monterey, which was on November 14, 1773, I made the report in accordance with those notes and sent it by way of California to the reverend father guardian of my College, with a letter dated the 10th of December, so that his Reverence might deliver it to his Excellency the Viceroy. And as the condition of each mission is stated in the report, by copying it in this third part the account will be properly complete.

Report Made in the Month of December, 1773, to his Excellency the Viceroy, of the State of the Five Missions of Monterey

Most Excellent Sir:

Sir: In obedience to your Excellency's order of May 12, of the past year of 1772, in which you command the father president of the missions of Monterey, which are in charge of the College *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando de Mexico, to make an annual report of the condition of the missions, with a statement of the number of souls which there may be in each one of them,[98] so that your Excellency may have positive information of the progress that they may make in the spiritual conquest; having concluded the delivery of all the missions to the reverend fathers of the Sacred Order of Preachers of Our Father Santo Domingo, of which I gave account to your Excellency in May of the current year, I came to these of Monterey to serve in the absence of the Reverend Father Fray Junípero Serra, their president, for the purpose of preparing the report which your Excellency requests.

Considering that this is the first report, it has seemed to me best to start with the beginning of the founding of the missions, and to note everything that may help to give your Excellency complete information of these new establishments and their districts, beginning with the first one that was

founded, and which is nearest to the last one of California, although more than one hundred leagues distant from it, that is,

San Diego de Alcalá, at that Saint's Port

This mission was founded on the sixteenth of July, 1769. It is situated on a hill about two gunshots from the beach, facing Pebble Point and the mouth of the harbor named San Diego, which is in north latitude thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes. Both the beach and the vicinity of the mission are very well populated with heathen, and in the district of about ten leagues there are more than twenty large villages, one of them being close to the mission.

In the beginning the Indians of this port showed themselves to be very bold and arrogant, even daring to attack the camp, seeing that there was but a small number of soldiers and most of them sick, when the expedition left to look for the harbor of Monterey. But they were frightened away, three or four of them having been killed in the firing, and as many more of them wounded, while there was only one servant of the camp killed and two persons wounded, one of them being one of the missionary fathers, but they were not seriously hurt.

On account of this affair the Indians took offense, and for a long time did not come near the camp or mission. But since then they have gradually been

subdued, and there are now baptized, among children and adults, eighty-three. Of the latter seven have died recently baptized and twelve have been married. They live in the village formed of their little houses of poles and tule, and near them live also the heathen catechumens, who punctually attend catechism every day. The heathen of the other villages also frequent the mission and attend catechism, being attracted by their delight in hearing the neophytes sing.

Inside the stockade is the church, which consists of a chapel made of logs with a tule roof, and the dwelling for the two missionaries, with their corresponding offices, partly of adobe and partly of wood, with tule roof.

There is also inside the stockade a hut which serves as barracks for the soldiers of the guard and a warehouse in which to keep the provisions. And for defense there are inside the stockade two bronze cannon, one pointed toward the harbor and the other toward the village. At one side of the stockade they opened some trenches for the foundations of a church thirty varas long, for which they had ready some stone and more than four thousand adobes. The missionary fathers are the foremen of the work and the neophytes the workmen. They were working willingly, but at present the work is halted on account of the lack of supplies, which compelled the Indians to retire and look for their wild food until the arrival of the barks with relief.

As this mission lacks water to irrigate the plentiful good land that it has, they must suffer want unless they succeed in raising seasonal crops. They have had experience of this in the first two years. The first year the river, which flows only in the rainy season near the hill on which the mission is situated, rose so high that it carried away all the seed. The second year they planted farther away from the river, and the rains failed at the best time and the seed was lost, excepting only five bushels of wheat, which they sowed about two leagues from the mission, having found by experience that rain fell more frequently at that place. Exploration has been made in the district around the mission for a radius of ten leagues, but no running water has been found for irrigating. But for the cattle there is sufficient water in several places, with a great abundance of pasture.

The heathen live on grass seeds which they harvest in their season, and which they make into sheaves as is usually done with the wheat, adding to it fish and game, hares and rabbits, of which there is an abundance. The missionary fathers have asked for a canoe and a net from San Blas, so that the new Christians may help by fishing, and if this is granted I do not doubt that it will be of great assistance to them.

Of the cattle that came by order of the illustrious visitor from California for these missions they gave eighteen head, large and small, to this mission, and

in the beginning of last October it had forty head; of sheep it had sixty-four head; goats fifty-five, and swine nineteen; brood mares fifteen, four fillies and a colt; eight tame horses and one stallion; two breeding donkeys, one jack and one gelding; four saddle mules and eighteen pack mules equipped with leather saddle-bags, and two unbroken mules.

The mission has two ploughshares, and other tools and implements necessary for agriculture,[99] carpentering and bricklaying, and a forge for blacksmithing, although they are without workmen for those trades.

San Gabriel Arcángel

The mission of San Diego is followed by that of San Gabriel Arcángel, distant from it about forty-four leagues in a northwesterly direction. The road to it runs at first along the beach, and the rest of the way farther off, at a distance of eight to ten leagues.

The mission is situated on the slope of a hill in the valley called San Miguel, about half a league from the source of the river of that name. It is in latitude thirty-four degrees and ten minutes, and it has in sight that plain, which is very spacious, with plenty of land and an abundance of water. It runs through the plain in channels formed by the river, and it would be easy to take the water from them to irrigate all the land that they might wish for planting.

This mission was begun on the eighth of December, 1771. At first the Indians showed themselves to be well pleased with their new neighbors, and helped to carry timber for the stockade, the chapel, and the dwelling for the missionaries and the guard. But, a quarrel having occurred between a soldier and a heathen woman in the village near by, the chief of the village wished to avenge the injury, and, with all his own people and others that he invited from neighboring villages, he went to the mission and fell upon the men who were guarding the horses. As soon as he saw them he fired an arrow at one of them, who parried with his shield. Then the soldier fired and the Indian chief fell, at sight of which the rest fled. They finally killed the chief, and at the noise the corporal came running with the rest of the soldiers and ordered his head cut off. Fixing it on a pole he placed it in public view to frighten the rest; and there it remained until on request of the fathers it was removed and delivered to the heathen, who came to the mission to make amends, explaining by signs the reason for that uprising.

On account of this occurrence the Indians abandoned the village and did not allow themselves to be seen for a long time, but subsequently, little by little, they have consented to come and live in the village, and by the early part of October the fathers had already baptized sixty-three, counting children and adults, of whom two recently baptized had died. Up to the present no marriage has been celebrated.

Besides these they were catechizing others who attend with the new Christians very regularly, already living at the mission in their village, which they have built of poles and tule not far from the stockade.

Inside the stockade are the church, made of logs with tule roof; the dwelling of the missionary fathers, offices and granaries, made of the same materials; the guard-house for the soldiers of the escort; and ten little houses for the Indians of California, of whom there are five families of married people and six unmarried youths. With the work of these they were going to make a good planting of wheat, for which they had eight bushels of seed, and for which they were preparing the land. Then they were going to set to work to prepare more ground, in order to make, in season, a large planting of corn. This year they had the experience of gathering a hundred and thirty bushels from eight almuds, and from four almuds of beans they harvested seven bushels. Consequently they now have enough to make larger plantings, with which to feed the new Christians and attract the heathen. This will be a great inducement, as the Indians are very poor, on account of the scarcity of wild seeds and game. And they lack fish because they are about eight leagues distant from the beach. This distance is all level country populated with many villages which maintain among themselves constant wars, making it impossible for them to go to fish, although

they say there is a very suitable beach on the bay of San Pedro, where barks can anchor in safety.

The rest of the broad plain is well populated with heathen in all four directions from the mission, with good sites, timber, an abundance of water and pasture for all kinds of cattle, and even to establish other settlements if it should be judged desirable. Indeed, to the east, six leagues from the mission, is the river named Jesús de los Temblores, from which, in addition to the waters of the San Miguel, the waters can easily be taken out to irrigate the large amount of good land there. Toward the west there is a large grove of live oaks, with much land and several streams of water.

A league and a half farther along the same road is the river of Nuestra Señora de los Angeles de Porciúncula, which carries all the year enough water to irrigate the large extent of land there, and other streams no less appreciable, all populated with so many heathen that it will be impossible to provide for all who may go to live at the mission. Especially among the many villages on the road between this mission and that of San Diego, in the vales and valleys that are passed, there must be spots suitable for one or two missions. Up to now, however, this stretch has not been examined, but has been gone through merely in passing. If one mission at least should be established there, it would facilitate the transit, and there would not be so large a body of heathen on the road which is so necessary for communication.

This mission of San Gabriel has thirty-eight head of cattle, thirty of sheep, twelve of goats, and twenty of swine, a filly, a stallion, five broken horses, two saddle mules and fourteen pack mules equipped and furnished with everything, including leather saddle bags. It has six ploughshares supplied with everything for work in the fields, and all other tools necessary for farm work, as well as for carpentering; but it lacks a forge, and workmen for these trades, so necessary for the making of a new settlement.

San Luís Obispo de Tolosa[100]

The next mission is that of San Luís Obispo de Tolosa. It is distant from San Gabriel about seventy leagues. From San Gabriel to the beginning of the channel of Santa Barbara it is about twenty-seven leagues northwest, by a road somewhat apart from the coast. Along the channel it is as many more leagues to the west, which is the direction followed by the coast. All the way the road runs along the edge of the beach except in a few places where it withdraws somewhat, although most of it is about half a league off because the precipitous nature of the shore does not allow passage. From the end of the channel to the mission of San Luís it is about sixteen leagues, part way along the beach and part way retired from it, although not very far.

This mission was founded September 1, 1772. It is situated on a hill on whose skirts runs a good

stream of water supplying enough for the use of the mission and to irrigate a good field for crops. It is in latitude thirty-five degrees and thirty-eight minutes. It is half a league distant from the valley of Los Osos, and three leagues by a good road from the bay of El Buchón,* in which they say barks can anchor.

In all four directions it is populated with many heathen and many very well-built villages. But there is no permanent village close to the mission, for in the neighborhood of the settlements no site was found with all the conditions required, while in this spot the mission has them in abundance, with the advantage of much good arable land, timber, firewood and water. For, besides the stream of water mentioned, the mission has, a gunshot away, an arroyo with a little running water, with which it would easily be possible to irrigate another field; and it has in several places other abundant streams, with much land useful for planting as well as good pastures for every kind of cattle. Besides this, in the neighborhood of the mission there are good places to establish other settlements.

From its founding until the latter part of last October they only succeeded in baptizing twelve persons, all children, although at the time they were catechizing some adults.

The heathen of the neighboring villages harvest an abundance of very savory and nutritious wild seeds, and have game, such as deer and rabbits; and

* San Luís Obispo Bay.

the beach Indians catch large quantities of fish. For this reason it will not be so easy to induce them to live at the mission, for they have the custom of building their towns in places where the seeds are, and as soon as they are all gone or gathered they move to another place, moving at the same time their little houses, which they make of tule mats. Hence it will be only through their interest in clothing, which they like and desire very much, that they can be reached.

They are in the habit of frequenting the mission and stopping there several days at a time, lodging in houses near the stockade in which live the relatives of the Christians, who have finally become permanent residents. It is expected that through their example others will do the same, and as they go on being baptized they will go on building houses to form a town.

At the present time they are building houses for the four married couples from California, and for five unmarried boys who remained there to put the fields in order. They are now ready to sow about eight bushels of wheat, and at the proper time they planted all they could of corn and beans, for which they had the aid of a small field of corn which they were about to gather. From two almuds and a half of corn which they planted they expect to harvest thirty bushels, and from a plateful of beans which they planted they got two bushels. With this crop they have enough seed to make larger plant-

ings, and judging from the good crop they have yielded they expect to reap large harvests.

Inside the stockade they have their little church of logs and tule, and some rooms for a dwelling for the fathers, with the corresponding offices, a granary, and a dwelling house for the soldiers of the escort, all made of logs and tule.

The mission has forty-one head of cattle, four brood mares, one stallion, four broken horses, two saddle mules, fourteen pack mules, equipped and provided with everything, with leather saddle bags, and five head of swine for breeding. It has six ploughshares, and all the tools necessary for farm work, as also some tools for carpenters and masons, for the time when they succeed in securing workmen.[101]

San Antonio de Pádua

The mission last described is followed by that of San Antonio de Pádua, distant about twenty-three leagues north in a valley named Los Robles, on account of the large number of live oak trees in it. This valley is situated in the center of the mountain range of Santa Lucía, and was called in the expedition La Olla de la Sierra de Santa Lucía.* It is in latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty-nine minutes.

It[102] was founded on July 14, 1771, on the bank of a river named San Antonio. A year and a half after its founding, when the church and dwelling were

* La Olla (La Hoya) was much further south. See Crespi's diary in Volume II.

already in running order and its lands cultivated and even planted, they found it necessary to move the mission, because the river dried up so that there was no more water, even for the most necessary uses. They did this, moving it about half a league farther up in the same valley to the banks of an arroyo which was found, and which, even in the driest time of the year, flows with more than a buey of water. The arroyo is called San Miguel, and it is there that the mission is situated to-day, with a little church of adobes with a flat roof of plaster, and a small dwelling of the same material for the fathers, with their office, and other little houses of wood and adobes. There are also the guardhouse for the escorts, and three small houses for three leather-jacket soldiers who are married to Indian women of the mission, and the village of the Indians with their little houses of logs and tule.

Since its founding there have been baptized among children and adults, one hundred and fifty-eight, of whom eight died recently baptized. Of the neophytes fifteen have married and are living very happily at the mission.

This mission enjoys in the new site an abundance of water from the arroyo mentioned, which they have conducted in a ditch along the slope of the land, to water a stretch of fertile ground close to the mission, a good piece of which they had ploughed up. They were ready to plant in it two bushels of wheat, that being the only seed that they had.

In their proper season they hope to make a good planting of corn and beans, for the support of the new Christians and to attract the others, in whom not the least repugnance has been observed to receiving the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, nor to living in the mission beside the missionary fathers, for whom they manifest great love. They have expressed this and do express it, helping to relieve their hunger with their wild seeds and the meat of rabbits and squirrels, which are not of the worst quality. I do not doubt that if they have the means to support and clothe the Christians, in a short time there will be a large settlement, and the large body of heathen which live in its vicinity will be converts.

These heathen live on the large quantities of wild seeds which they obtain in the broad valley, and also on the acorns of the oaks and live oaks, and the pine-nuts, which they obtain in some abundance. They also practice hunting rabbits and squirrels, in which the valley abounds. Fish they do not get so easily, for the sea is distant about half a day's travel, over a very rough road.

This mission has several places suitable for raising stock of all species, with an abundance of pasture, plenty of timber of oaks, live oaks, pines, and other trees not known to them except by the name of their color, which is red like the cedar, and very good for building. They have also an abundance of stone, ordinary as well as for building and for making lime.

The mission has thirty-eight head of cattle, four mares, and one stallion; four broken horses, two saddle mules and nine pack mules equipped and provided with everything; two ploughs and two plough points with their appurtenances; and all tools necessary to work the land, as also tools for carpenters and masons. There are thirty swine, which live on acorns, with the abundance of which the valley is very well adapted for raising those animals.

Before going on with the report, permit me, your Excellency, to make this digression, in order to relate a particular case which the missionary fathers of this mission told me about. Because it is very edifying and incites one to praise the great compassion of God, who shows himself to be so inclined to the conversion of these numerous heathen, I have thought it best not to omit relating it to your Excellency.

These fathers tell me that there was a very old heathen woman, who, according to her appearance, was more than a hundred years old. She went to them to be baptized, telling the missionary fathers that the reason that moved her to do so was because when she was a girl she heard her father say that a priest who wore the same habit as we, had come to this land, not traveling on horseback or on foot, but flying; and that he preached to them the same as they were now preaching, and that remembering this caused her to be a Christian. The fathers, surprised at the story of the happy old woman, happy

because she succeeded at the end of so many years in obtaining holy baptism, questioned the Indians who had already become Christians, and they told the same story, saying that they had heard their ancestors tell it, and that the story had passed from one to another.

When the fathers told me about this occurrence I recalled the letter which the Venerable María de Jesús de Agreda wrote to the missionaries of my holy order employed in the conquest of New Mexico, in which she tells them that Our Father San Francisco took to these northern nations two friars of his order to preach the faith of Jesus Christ, and that after converting many they died martyred. Comparing the time, it seems probable that one of them was the one which the old woman tells about. This being the case, we may hope for great conversions in this immense body of heathen, especially with the vigorous measures which your Excellency deigns to take for the advancement of these new reductions. You will receive your reward from God, as all we missionaries, minor chaplains of your Excellency, pray the Lord.

Royal Presidio of Monterey

Continuing the report of these missions, I will say that twenty-five leagues from the mission of San Antonio is the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey, eighteen leagues north and seven northwest,

as the high Sierra de Santa Lucía does not permit one to go by direct road. It was founded on June 3, 1770, in sight of the harbor of Monterey, distant from it about two gunshots on the skirt of the Point of Pines, and at the side of an estuary a gunshot from the beach. It has a stockade of wood with four ravelins, and on each one of them a bronze cannon. Inside the stockade there is a church of adobe with its flat roof of plaster, and near it a room of the same materials for a dwelling for the fathers when they go to say Mass. On the front face there is a dwelling for the captain, also of adobe, with two small rooms, one to serve as a kitchen and the other as a small storeroom. There is another room built of adobe which serves as a jail, a granary, quarters for the volunteer soldiers and the leather-jackets, and other rooms for the muleteers and servants. All of the latter are made of logs with a flat roof of earth.

San Carlos de Monterey

The mission of San Carlos was founded near the royal presidio and at the same time, which was on June 3, 1770. It remained on that site until the latter part of December, 1771, when, by order of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, predecessor of your Excellency, it was removed to the banks of Carmelo River, a little more than two gunshots away, and about a league distant from the royal

presidio, because it was thought the site was more suitable and more advantageous for the mission than the harbor of Monterey. It remains on this site, where they have built a church of pine and cypress timber, with a roof of earth, a dwelling for the fathers, and their respective offices, as well as a house for the soldiers of the guard, all made of the same material, and inside the stockade. They have just finished building another church about thirty varas long, partly of logs and partly of planks, with a roof of tule because it has been experienced that the flat roof does not bear the heavy rains, to serve until such time as a skilled master can be obtained to build it as the country requires.

Since its founding one hundred and sixty-five person have been baptized; eleven have died recently baptized, and thirty-two marriages have been solemnized, twenty-eight of them of Indian men to Indian women recently converted, three of them Indian women neophytes to volunteer Catalonian soldiers, and the other an Indian girl to a servant of the mission.

Others are being catechized, although they cannot stay permanently at the mission because it has no food for them, nor even for the Christians, who are obliged to go to the woods in search of their wild foods and to the beach for fish. This want proceeded from the fact that the bark did not arrive with the supplies, and the little corn that they had planted was not a success, because they planted it

late on account of lack of seed. At present they are sowing five bushels of wheat, which is all they harvested from two almuds which they sowed last year.

The mission has at this site plenty of good land, although not for irrigation, for the river runs too low, and in the rainy season it is very rapid, and if it is retained by a dam it is sure to carry it away. But, according to what has been observed, seasonal crops can be raised, of wheat as well as corn, by the humidity of the earth and the constant fogs that prevail after the cessation of the rains. It has also several sites for every kind of stock, with abundance of pasture and water, much timber of pines, cypresses, cottonwoods, willows, and redwood.

The mission has forty-seven head of cattle, twenty-eight hogs, four brood mares, one stallion, four broken horses, two saddle mules and ten pack mules equipped and provided with everything, including leather saddle-bags, six ploughs with points and yokes, and all the tools necessary for the field work, as also for carpentering and masonry, although it lacks workmen.

This mission, like the four others described, has its sacred vessels, vestments, and other utensils for church and sacristy, some of them in good condition, but those of the three missions of San Gabriel, San Luís, and San Antonio are very poor, old, and in bad condition, because they got wet on the bark, for which reason all the white clothing has rotted and some of the vestments are stained. Some things are

lacking to these missions, especially for administering the Holy Viaticum, for they lack cibaries, palios, standards, and also bells, for one of the missions is using a bell borrowed from the bark, and the others those belonging to the mission of San Buenaventura, which has not yet been founded.

This mission of the Seraphic Doctor San Buenaventura was ordered founded by the predecessor of your Excellency at the time of the entry of the first expedition, and the site was chosen at the beginning of the channel of Santa Bárbara, where there is a large town of heathen, with houses of round, conical form, very well constructed. This site is called La Asunción de Nuestra Señora, and is distant from the mission of San Gabriel twenty-six leagues. It has been examined, and it apparently has all the requisites for a mission, water, land, pastures, and firewood. But up to the present time the founding has not been undertaken on account of the lack of soldiers for the guard, for, as these heathen are extremely alert, very intelligent, and rather bold, it is necessary that the guard shall be large enough so that no misfortune may happen, and so that this town, as well as the many others on the channel, may not fail of success. But as soon as some more soldiers arrive this founding will be effected. The missionary fathers are ready for it and waiting at San Gabriel, with all the vestments and utensils of church and sacristy, house and field. The cattle for the mission of San Buenaventura are also at that mission. They now amount to thirty-eight head,

for to this number the eighteen head given by the captain by order of the visitor-general have increased, and likewise the four hogs, the number assigned to each mission, have increased to twenty-two. There are also a saddle mule, another pack mule, and two broken horses.

Besides this mission, orders have been given to found another named Santa Clara in the country between San Gabriel and San Buenaventura, and an eye has been cast on the valley of that saint, at the head of it, where they say there are good land and water and everything else desirable for the founding of missions. This site is about seven leagues from that of San Gabriel and fourteen from the site destined for that of San Buenaventura.* The site destined for Santa Clara is somewhat apart from the Camino Real now in use, and it has not been seen since the expedition passed there, hence it is necessary to go beforehand to examine it, which has not been done on account of the lack of soldiers already mentioned.

The missionaries are ready for this mission, one being at San Diego and the other at San Luís, serving as supernumeraries until the mission shall be founded, and all the vestments, sacred vessels, and utensils of church and sacristy, as well as of house and field, are in boxes at this mission of San Carlos.

Besides those mentioned it has been ordered that another mission be founded, to be dedicated to Our

* The site described was near Castac, in the Santa Clara Valley, Los Angeles County.

Father San Francisco on his own port, which is judged to be in the Gulf of the Farallones, towards Point Reyes, distant from the port of Monterey twenty-five leagues, more or less. With the object of putting the order into execution they went out last year to examine it, but their way was stopped by an arm of the sea which runs to the southeast about fifteen leagues. Although they rounded it and went on in that direction, with the intention of going to Point Reyes, they were stopped by another arm of the sea, and although they went on up for the purpose of rounding this arm, they were prevented by a great river, a quarter of a league wide, which ends in that arm of the sea. They took the trouble to continue still farther up, to look for the end of it and see whether it could be forded, but no matter how far they went they could not cross it. On the contrary they saw that the great river is formed by three other rivers slightly smaller than the one they had first seen, and that all of them came down from the high mountains which extend to the southeast, and that not one of them had a ford, and so they were compelled to return.

The captain commander, Don Pedro Fages, tells me that once when he was looking for some deserters beyond the mountains he saw a great plain, and in it some immense tule marshes, with many large lakes, from which, judging by their direction, those rivers are formed, and that if the plain were followed above the lakes one would come out at Point Reyes,

leaving those rivers on the left, and he adds that the level pass comes to an end opposite the mission of San Luís.

This being the case, one can go by land to the harbor of San Francisco, although I do not doubt that the detour will be very long and far apart from the chain of missions, and that in order to facilitate the transit by those broad plains it would be necessary to establish many missions, on account of the large numbers of heathen that they say there are.

Notwithstanding all this, we have had in mind going to examine again the shore of the Gulf of the Farallones in the direction that faces towards the port of Monterey, and if a place be found suitable for that mission, not too far from the beach, to proceed with its founding, since it is not known with certainty where the harbor is, for only on that Gulf of the Farallones, when the bark can go to examine it to make soundings, can it be founded; and in case the harbor is on the other side of the Gulf, if your Excellency should judge it proper, launches can go to found another.

The vestments, sacred vessels and utensils of church and sacristy, as well as those of house and field, are stored at this mission of San Carlos, and the two missionaries are ready for its founding, one of them being here and the other at San Luís. The stock for this mission of San Francisco, as well as that for Santa Clara, which was assigned to them by the most Excellent Marquis de Croix, is in posses-

sion of Captain Don Pedro Fages, with the increase that it has had in the two years, which I presume must have been the same as in the other missions, more or less.

Most Excellent Sir: Although your Excellency asks nothing more than a report of the missions, in order that you may have positive information of the progress that has been made in the spiritual conquests, I have thought it best to dilate a little, as this is the first report, so that you may have detailed information of this newly discovered land[103] and that in view of it you may take the measures that you may judge proper for its conservation and advancement. And because I judge that it will be conducive also to touch upon the stretches of country that lie between one mission and another, I shall not omit this, though I shall speak of it only in passing, in order not to weary your Excellency.

The channel of Santa Bárbara, at the beginning of which the mission of San Buenaventura is to be founded, has a length of about twenty-seven leagues, and is so densely populated with heathen that right on the road, which runs close along the shore, there are twenty-one large towns, and it is necessary to pass through them, in the middle of some and on the edge of others, and past others about a gunshot off. As most of them are very large and have many people, there must be no fewer than twenty thousand souls living in those towns. They are extremely intelligent and skillful; it would be a very fine thing

to place some missions among them, and I believe there will be no lack of sites suitable for the purpose. By this means, besides saving those souls, the road from Monterey to San Diego and the communication of the missions would be made safe, for if the heathen become perverted, as has already been known to happen in some places, and wish to stop their passage, it will be easy for them to do so on account of the bad passes, precipices, and cliffs that exist on those roads.

From the end of the channel, which is reputed to have a large town of heathen named Los Pedernales, near Point Concepción, to the mission of San Luís, a distance of fifteen leagues, there are also many heathen and good sites, especially on the large river of Santa Rosa, which runs with a copious flow the entire year, through a large valley, to the beach. This river is about twelve leagues distant from the mission of San Luís. Going five leagues beyond the river one comes to a very large town of heathen in a broad and spacious plain, very rich in seeds and game, so that it will not be easy to take them from their native land and reduce them to living in the nearest mission, which is that of San Luís, about seven leagues distant.

The stretch between San Luís and San Antonio, and that between the latter and Monterey, are not so well populated as the channel, but on the first stretch there are enough people to warrant placing two missions, and in the interval between San

Antonio and the royal presidio, another. There are beautiful sites for them, with all the advantages required for good missions.

These brief notes are enclosed in this report so that after considering them your Excellency may determine what you may judge best for the service of God our Lord,[104] and our Catholic monarch.

I pray His Divine Majesty to spare the important life of your Excellency for many years, which I desire, and which is necessary for the conservation and promotion of these new reductions, and the propagation of our Holy Faith among these numerous heathen.

From this mission of your Excellency, San Carlos de Monterey, December 10, 1773. Most Excellent Sir, your attentive servant and humble chaplain, who venerates you, kisses the hand of your Excellency.

Fray Francisco Palóu.

This report I sent to the reverend father guardian of the College, so that he might read it and, if he thought best, forward it to his Excellency; and lest it should appear to him too prolix, I prepared a brief summary, so that he might forward to him whichever seemed best. The following is a copy of the summary:

Table of the Missions of Monterey

With a statement of the number of Indians who have been baptized since their founding, the marriages that have been performed, the deaths that have occurred, and the Indians now in them who live within sound of the bell, compiled on the tenth of December, 1773.

Names of the missions, dates of their foundings, their latitude, and the distances between them	Baptisms	Marriages	Deaths	Now in the mission
San Diego de Alcalá founded on San Diego harbor, June 16, 1769, in latitude thirty-two degrees and forty-two minutes, distant from the last mission in California about a hundred leagues	83	12	7	76
San Gabriel Arcángel, founded September 8, 1771, in latitude thirty-five degrees and thirty-eight minutes, distant from the preceding forty-four leagues	73	00	2	71
San Luís Obispo, founded on the 19th of September, 1772, in latitude thirty-five degrees and thirty-eight minutes, distant from the preceding seventy leagues	12	00	1	11
San Antonio de Pádua, founded July 14, 1771, in latitude thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes, distant from the preceding twenty-three leagues	158	18	8	150
San Carlos de Monterey, founded June 3, 1770, in latitude thirty-six degrees and forty-four minutes, distant from the preceding twenty-six leagues	165	32	11	154
Totals	491	62	29	462

TABLE OF THE STOCK IN THESE MISSIONS

	Cattle	Sheep	Goats	Swine	Donkeys	She-donkeys	Brood mares	Horse colts	Horses	Saddle mules	Pack mules
San Diego de Alcalá..	40	64	55	19	2	2	17	3	9	4	18
San Gabriel.....	38	30	12	20	0	0	4	1	6	2	14
San Luís.....	41	00	00	5	0	0	4	0	5	2	14
San Antonio.....	38	00	00	30	0	0	4	0	5	2	9
San Carlos.....	48	00	00	28	0	0	4	0	5	2	10
Totals.....	205	94	67	102	2	2	33	4	30	12	65

On the 6th of August of the current year of 1774, by a messenger who came from California, I received a reply from his Excellency dated the twenty-fifth of May of this year, in which he tells me he has received the report, and charges me with what is stated in his letter, a literal copy of which follows:

LETTER OF HIS EXCELLENCY

Through the Reverend Father Fray Rafael Verger I have received the report and description which your Reverence formed with such method and accuracy of those new establishments and missions. This information leaves me highly pleased on account of the complete knowledge that it gives of

the fertility and charming qualities of the land for the erection of other missions, on account of the well-founded hopes that we must have for the progress of the spiritual and temporal conquests, owing to the docile, sincere, and fine character of the natives, and for the other reasons that your Reverence explains in detail in your letter of the tenth of December of last year, 1773.

In consequence of all this information, the Reverend Father Fray Junípero goes charged to apply all his attention to the promotion of these missions, and the erection of others besides those projected, and not to spare trouble in attracting to the knowledge of our true religion and the benign vassalage of our august sovereign the immense body of heathen who populate those countries. And now I am satisfied that, since your Reverence is completely possessed by the spirit of his royal purposes and that of an apostolic friar, my measures and those of your institute will be perfectly fulfilled, and that in a short time the prosperity of the land and its inhabitants will come to be general, to which important end I have no doubt your Reverence will add to your own zeal that of the rest of the missionary fathers.

I presume that when your Reverence receives this you will have had the pleasure of seeing those establishments fully provisioned by means of the frigate, in which Father Fray Junípero has been conducted, and the packet *El Príncipe,* which fol-

lowed it with as many provisions as it could carry in consequence of its orders. Moreover, the one called *San Carlos* will not be long in sailing from San Blas, for I have ordered it outfitted with the same object, for the benefit of these recent conquests and for their promotion.

I am sure that the pleasure of your Reverence has been no less in seeing communication opened between that coast and the province of Sonora, if, as I am confident, Captain Don Juan Baptista de Anza has completed his expedition. For on February 9, from the place called San Dionisio, he informs me of his success in crossing the Colorado and Gila rivers, and in traveling among nations of unknown Indians, and of the affability, mild character, and friendliness which he observes in the Yuma nation and their chief, Palma, to whom part of the success of the expedition is due.

The new commander of those presidios, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, also wrote me from Loreto on the twentieth of March that, being resolved to make his journey by land, he was setting out with fifty-one persons whom he was taking from Sinaloa, directing his march straight to San Diego, and by comparing dates it may be inferred with good foundation that these two officers may have met on the way, or at that establishment, or at Monterey.

Whatever may have happened, I hope that since, with the union of the two expeditions named, there

are enough soldiers to attend to everything, the environs of the place where the harbor of San Francisco is situated will have been examined better, and that with more certainty than up to now plans will have been set on foot to erect there the missions necessary for the occupation of that region and the extension of the conquests. Of the results of this I desire to be informed, and to this end I hope that your Reverence, in continuation of your laudable labors, will report to me everything in detail, as I beg and charge you.

Mexico, May 25, 1774. May God preserve your Reverence for many years.

KNIGHT COMMANDER FRAY ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI Y URSUA.

To Reverend Father Fray Francisco Palóu.

In view of this letter the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, went to the royal presidio of Monterey to see the new commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, with the object of going to make the exploration of the harbor of Our Father San Francisco, in order to set to work at the founding of the missions charged by his Excellency. But, after being informed of the contents of the letter, which was read to him, he replied that he had no soldiers, nor even arms for those that he had. For this reason, and because Captain Juan

Baptista de Anza had gone away without leaving a single soldier, the examination was postponed until a better time, and I replied to his letter as follows:

Most Excellent Sir:

My dear and Most Excellent Sir: On the sixth of the current month by messenger from California and from the hand of the captain commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, I received with due appreciation and much pleasure the letter of your Excellency dated the twenty-fifth of May, in which you are pleased to approve the report of these missions which I prepared on the tenth of December of the year just past, and which I sent to the reverend father guardian, Fray Rafael Verger, so that he might put it in the hands of your Excellency, and to arouse my lukewarmness to these apostolic labors in the service of both Majesties.

Ready and prompt I am, your Excellency, as far as my strength may reach, with the Divine favor, in prosecution of this holy project. And I can honestly assure your Excellency that never since I was able to disembarrass myself of California and come to these lands, in the midst of the beautiful qualities which facilitate their spiritual conquest, and to behold the happy beginnings of this enterprise, have I had any regrets but that of seeing delayed the time which was designated to me and the friars who came with me from the Peninsula, when

we would be assigned new labor, in order to imitate persistently what we have seen done and is now being done by those who got the start of us in these lands.

As soon as I received your Excellency's letter I placed it in the hands of the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, who arrived at this mission about two months ago. His Reverence was delighted to see continued the fervent zeal of your Excellency (for he had known it well before, and had communicated it to me in vivid words) to advance these spiritual conquests by all possible means.

Taking this letter, he went next day to the royal presidio and read it to the captain commander, Don Fernando de Rivera y Moncada, to see if in virtue of it and the charges that he might have from your Excellency by the same mail on the same subject some steps might be taken for the exploration of San Francisco, or for founding some new mission. But, as not one of the soldiers of Don Juan Baptista de Anza had remained, and the volunteers had recently gone, and the families that he had gathered in Sinaloa had not arrived, he replied that he lacked soldiers and even arms to undertake any expedition. Consequently, our desires are sadly mortified, until such time as God may order that the wished-for fulfillment be given to the desires of your Excellency.

The effect of this letter was that in a few days from that time the commander sent, without any

new demand, the cattle for the two missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, which he had been reluctant to do before, saying in a letter directed to the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, that since he saw that his Excellency was intending soon to found the mission of Our Father San Francisco, he was sending the cattle for both. They are now at this mission and will be taken care of until those foundations are effected, and with this demonstration my hopes have been raised that at the first opportunity hand will be set to that work.

It was as your Excellency presumed, for when I received that letter I had already had, and in fact we all had, the pleasure of seeing these establishments provided with the abundant supplies which the frigate and the packet *El Príncipe* assembled in obedience to your Excellency's orders, and so much improved by your new measures, as also by seeing communication opened between this coast and the province of Sonora. May God reward your Excellency as well, for we are all supremely grateful to you.

I accept the charge of informing your Excellency of the results of any new enterprise among those that we are hoping for, in which I may have a part, either with the arrival of the frigate or the families who are now on the way from California. And in the meantime I will keep on, as I said, promoting the progress of these missions, which, thanks to God, are every day more prosperous and fortunate, and

expecting the two friars whom I left in California with all the cargo of utensils and books belonging to us thirty friars who were on that Peninsula, for it is now a full year since they were detained by order of the governor, Don Felipe Barry, on the frontier of Vellicatá.*

And I pray God our Lord to spare the important life of your Excellency, for the good of these poor new people, for the many years that I desire in His Divine grace.

From this mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the Carmelo River, July 28, 1774.

Most Excellent Sir: I kiss the hand of your Excellency. Your attentive servant and chaplain, who venerates you,

Fray Francisco Palóu.

* See Vol. I, Chapters XXXV, XXXVI, and this volume, 309–386.

CHAPTER II

EXPEDITION AND EXPLORATION MADE IN THE VICINITY OF THE HARBOR OF OUR SERAPHIC FATHER SAN FRANCISCO[105]

In the beginning of November of the current year of 1774, there arrived at the royal presidio of San Carlos de Monterey the families and soldiers whom the commander, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, recruited in the province of Sinaloa, and whom he had left resting in Old California until such time as he could send them provisions from Monterey to go up to the royal presidio. As soon as they arrived, after giving the horses time to rest a little, he decided to set out on the exploration ordered by his Excellency of the environs of the harbor of San Francisco, with the object of planting there such missions as might be judged necessary.

He decided to set out on the 20th of November, with an escort of sixteen men, taking provisions for forty days, with the object of examining all that could be done and would be permitted by the weather and rains, and, if it should be possible, to ascend and explore as far

as the source of the great River of San Francisco,* which empties into the estuary discovered by the expedition of the year 1769. The reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, in view of the letter written to me by his Excellency on the 25th of May, named me to go with that expedition, charging me to keep a diary, in order to be able to give detailed information of everything, to his Excellency as well as to our College, which I did, and this diary I copy here, as follows:

DIARY

Journey which by order of his Excellency, Señor Knight Commander Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli y Ursua, viceroy of New Spain, was made in the month of November of 1774, to the vicinity of the harbor of San Francisco on the coast of the Pacific Ocean in Northern California, with the object of occupying it with new missions entrusted to my apostolic College of Franciscan missionaries of the Regular Observance *de propaganda fide* of San Fernando de Mexico.

After having succeeded with all felicity in settling the harbor of Monterey and founding the royal presidio of San Carlos and the mission of the same name, and several others on the coast between that harbor and San Diego, several expeditions have been made with the object of exploring this new land, especially toward the harbor of San Francisco to

* The San Joaquín River.

the north of Monterey, with the intention of founding there a mission to be dedicated to our holy patriarch.

With this purpose in view, the commander, Don Pedro Fages, set out from the royal presidio in the month of March, 1772,* with the appropriate escort of soldiers, accompanied by the father preacher Fray Juan Crespi, missionary of that College and second minister of the mission of San Carlos, who was sent by the father president, Fray Junípero Serra. When they arrived in the neighborhood of the Gulf of the Farallones, on which, according to the histories, that harbor is situated, near Point Reyes, their passage was stopped by a great estuary or arm of the sea which empties into that Gulf, and although they went up and rounded it and continued their course on the other side as far as the mouth, they found that another estuary, or perhaps the same one, continued to the north-northwest.[106] This they also followed and came upon a large lake or round bay.† Into this empties a large river a quarter of a league wide‡ which could not be forded, and by ascending to the top of a high peak they saw that this latter is divided into three branches, all of the same size. And they saw also that the three branches are formed from one great river which descends from some high mountains to the south-southeast.

* Palóu overlooks the journey of Fages to San Francisco Bay in 1770.

† San Pablo Bay. ‡ Suisun Bay.

Seeing themselves prevented from ascending to Point Reyes, they returned to the presidio and reported everything to his Excellency in the diaries,* from which a map was formed of that estuary and harbor. His Excellency, desirous that the harbor should be settled and the immense body of heathen who inhabit its vicinity reduced to our Holy Faith, again ordered the commander of these new establishments, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, to go and make a new exploration, and ascertain the source of that river and search out the places most suitable for founding as many missions as may be thought desirable.

He gave this charge to the reverend father president of the missions in a letter of the 25th of May of this year, telling him that on the arrival of the new commander and the families of soldiers that he had recruited in Sinaloa, a new examination should be made of the environs of the harbor of San Francisco, with the object of occupying them with new missions, in addition to those already projected. His Excellency concludes the letter by charging him to keep him informed in the fullest detail of everything that may be seen in that exploration.†

In obedience to this superior charge, as soon as the soldiers arrived from Sinaloa, notwithstanding that it was a season not at all propitious for that journey on account of the approach of the rains, the

* See Father Crespi's diary in this work, Volume II, 329–354.

† This letter was to Palóu himself. See above, pp. 240–243, 249.

commander decided to set out on that expedition with sixteen soldiers and a muleteer for the pack train, designating for the departure the 23d of November. The father president named me to go on the expedition and charged me to keep a diary, in order to be able to give his Reverence detailed account of everything, as he requests.

November 23.—The commander having named the afternoon of November 23 for the departure from the royal presidio of Monterey, after the blessing was received from the reverend father president and farewell taken of the father companions, I set out from the mission of San Carlos at eleven in the morning, with a youth for service and a boy sacristan to aid me in the Mass. I arrived before twelve at the presidio, where I found the captain and the soldiers preparing for the departure, which took place at half-past two in the afternoon. The commander remained at the presidio with some soldiers to finish his duties and overtake us afterwards, and I, with the greater part of them, and the pack train loaded with provisions for forty days, set out from the presidio at that hour, taking the road to the southeast, over hills and in sight of the beach. At half-past five we arrived at the Santa Delfina River,* known as the Monterey because it empties into that bay about five leagues from the royal presidio on the road by the beach. We stopped on its bank in a plain which has plenty of pasture and firewood at hand, because of the large number of

* The Salinas.

trees with which the banks of this river are forested. About ten at night the captain overtook us with the rest of the soldiers.

November 24.—About seven in the morning we set out from the camping place and immediately crossed the river, whose water rose to the stirrups, and it is evident that in the rainy season a large body must flow in its large bed. The river once forded, we took the road to the north, shortly afterwards veering a little to the north-northeast, and crossed the plain or great valley of the Santa Delfina, which is about four leagues wide.*

In an hour's travel on that plain we came to a large lake of good water, with large tule beds on its bank. At half-past nine we came to a range of hills, where the plain ends in this direction, and entered a narrow valley formed by the hills, all of pure earth with good pasture. Between them runs a stream of water, grown with some trees, which the hills lack. From this water and that of a number of streamlets that we saw in several little canyons in the hills, we concluded that the lagoon was formed. We ascended between the hills and up their slopes to a high pass,[107] but the grassy ascent was not at all rough. Near the top and not very far from the path that we were following we found a small bundle which we thought belonged to some heathen who,

* The indications are that the explorers kept near the beach till they reached the Salinas River. The lake passed on the 24th was perhaps Espinosa Lake, near Del Monte Junction. The mountains were evidently crossed near the route of the present day highway from Salinas to San Juan.

on seeing us in the distance, must have left it, in order to be able to run more lightly to escape from us. The commander went to it and saw that it was composed of pinole and thick atole in a basket, and, to prevent those who were coming behind with the pack train and mounts from touching the bundle, he stayed behind to guard it. We continued the ascent to the top of a high hill, somewhat apart, when a heathen began to call out to us, from which we inferred[108] that the bundle must be his, but on seeing the fresh tracks of a woman on the path it made us think that it must belong to her and that she had hidden herself.

We descended the pass, the way down being long and steep, but not dangerous, for it is composed of pure earth with green grass. In the descent we saw in the density of a little wood of live oaks, in a little valley, a great smoke, which the soldiers said came from a village of heathen, although I did not see any nor could I discern any houses on account of the thickness of the wood. At the end of the descent we entered a valley, not very wide, grown with oaks and live oaks, and we saw running through it an arroyo with a good stream of water, measuring more than a buey. It flows through a grove of cottonwoods, alders, willows, live oaks, and many blackberries and Castilian roses.

Crossing the stream, we continued by the same valley, but in a short time we perceived that the water was no longer running, for it sank into the

ground, and in order not to be left without any, and as it was now late, we retreated about a gunshot and halted near the arroyo, before the place where the water sank into the ground, in a little valley or vale of considerable extent, grown with live oaks and good pastures, where we stopped at twelve. The day's march had lasted five hours, at a good pace and without any stop at all. In this same place the last expedition, of the year 1772, rested, and they named this valley San Benito.*

In this whole day's march and in this place no heathen have been seen except the one spoken of; but at the ford of Santa Delfina we came across many paths made by them, well beaten, the same in the hills[109] and in this valley. Without doubt, they must have been made by the people of the village where we saw the smoke, but who have not come near the camp.

November 25.—We set out from the camp about seven and took the road to the north-northeast,[110] but after traveling a short distance, when the valley ends and one enters a spacious plain, our passage was stopped by a large marsh full of tule. This compelled us to take the road to the northeast to cross that valley, which is about a league wide, but of its length we did not see the terminus. It is all as level as one's hand, of good arable land, with good pastures. It was named by the expedition which crossed it the Valley of San Pascual Bailón.†

* Camp was near the site of Mission San Juan Bautista.

† Hollister Valley.

Seeing the marsh at the entrance to the plain and the large amount of moist land at the end of the valley, we concluded that the water that we saw in the valley of San Benito sinks into the ground, and that it rises from under the earth to come out in this valley and form the marsh mentioned. If this be so it would be easy to conduct the water by a ditch following the slope of the ground to water the good land in this valley of San Pascual Bailón, and a mission could be founded, with much good land to raise crops by irrigation and the natural moisture, for, by damming the arroyo all that is now marsh would be fit to raise crops by natural moisture, like that of Carmelo, without having the labor of irrigating.

This place has the advantage of plenty of firewood in the valley of San Benito, as well as from the large number of live oaks growing on the hills at the entrance of the valley, among which we saw many smokes, which are a sign of villages. It also has at hand timber for building, and in the valley of San Benito, near the camping place of yesterday, there is plenty of stone, and good pasture for all kinds of cattle.

We crossed this plain and found that it ends with a medium-sized river which runs through a thick growth of cottonwoods, willows, and alders, with a good stream of water. But on account of the depth at which it runs it does not seem to me it would be easy to make use of it to water the plain,

unless further up toward the east it should be possible to take the water from it. This river, the soldiers said, is the one that the expedition of 1769 crossed on the beach, and they called it Santa Ana, alias El Pájaro.*

After crossing the river we ascended some hills of earth well covered with grass, but with no trees except a live oak here and there in the canyons of the hills. It took us about half an hour to cross the hill from which we saw one large lake with a great deal of water and two others dried up, and a place with considerable water which seemed to us to come from springs. After ascending the hills we took the road to the northwest, and by it we descended to a spacious valley called since the last expedition through it San Bernardino de Sena.†

This valley runs from southeast to northwest. To the southeast no one knows its terminus, and to the northwest, the soldiers say, it reaches to the great estuary of San Francisco. Its width at the place where we descended must be four leagues, all land as level as the palm of the hand, and good, although in parts one finds spots of bad alkaline soil, without grass or trees.

After two hours' travel in this valley we came to a large grove of trees, cottonwoods, alders, willows, and blackberries, and inside it there was a large

* This river still bears the name of Pájaro.

† The party evidently went north from the vicinity of Hollister, crossed the hills north of San Felipe Lake, and descended into the great valley east of Gilroy.

village. We stopped opposite it, about a gunshot away, and as soon as they saw us many Indians armed with bows and arrows came out. When we called to them they came at once, and many of them gave me arrows, which among them is the greatest demonstration of friendship. To this we responded by giving them some strings of beads, which they appreciated very much. We stayed with them a little while, and they showed great friendliness toward us. I made the sign of the cross on every one that came up, and not one resisted, being very attentive[111] to the ceremony, as though they understood it. They gave us some baskets of atole, pinole, and seeds, and a surronato of the skin of a wildcat. The women and children did not come near, being more timid.

The men went about totally naked, like the rest of the heathen, but here and there one carried a little cape of skins or grass, protecting the body from the cold as far as the waist, but leaving all the rest of the body, and the parts that they ought especially to cover, exposed. Some of them I noticed were heavily bearded and most of them had good features and were corpulent.[112] The women go covered with skins of animals and grass in place of skirts, and wear on their shoulders their little capes of skins. Judging by the people that permitted themselves to be seen, there were no fewer than three hundred souls of both sexes, young and old. Near the village we saw a large pool of water, and, judging by the

course of the growth of trees, it may be part of a running arroyo.

After taking farewell of this village we continued our way in the same direction and valley, and at twelve we came to some hills, not very high, which seemed to end the valley, but it was not so, for from the summit of them we saw that it continued in a northerly direction between the mountains and the point of the range of hills, where we saw a large growth of trees running through the valley. We descended the hills and approached the trees, which we found to be in the bed of a river, although we found no water in it except in pools, but it is evident that a great deal must flow in it in the rainy season, and that what rain falls in the valley must flow into the river. We halted at half-past twelve near the water, the day's march having covered, at a good pace, five hours and a half, with the short delay at the village, a site which was called The Wounds* of Our Father San Francisco.

November 26.—Day dawned with a thick damp fog like a mist, and although on account of the absence of the sun we could not see the hour of departure, it must have been the same as the preceding, about seven. We followed the course of the valley in the same direction, to the north-northwest.

* Las Llagas de Nuestro Padre San Francisco. The arroyo where they camped still bears the name of Las Llagas. The hills which they crossed shortly before camping were the spur entering the valley from the west just north of San Martín. The party were following the west side of the valley. The day's march was a long one.

The thick fog gave me no opportunity to see the width of the valley, for it was so dark that we could see nothing a few paces away, and I could only distinguish that the range of hills to the south was not very far from the road that we were following, and that the plain was well grown with oaks and live oaks, and we found some thick groves of those trees.

At eight o'clock the day cleared somewhat, although the sun did not permit itself to be seen, but I could see that the valley was widening, and that it was full of oaks and live oaks. At ten we came to the large bed of a river, well grown with cottonwoods, alders, and willows, but without water. We followed this bed along its bank, which is very high and steep, and we made out across the river on a hill to the north a village of heathen.

We followed the bed of the river and came to a thick wood of several kinds of trees and blackberry bramble, which it was necessary to cross, and in it we found some little houses of the heathen, who, at the noise we made, left their things and concealed themselves in the thick woods. We crossed, near a village, a good brook of running water, which we soon saw no more, and we judged that it sank into the sand.

On leaving the wood we met some heathen armed with bows and arrows who had stopped near the path. I called to one of them and he came up at once. I gave him some beads, and when the others

saw them they came and I gave them some. I did not stay with them because the place was very inconvenient on account of the wood being so dense, and because the pack train and horses went on.[113]

The thick wood passed, the valley widens again, with good land also grown with oaks, and at twelve o'clock we came to a moderately high range of hills* of pure earth and grass. We ascended it and from the summit made out a large plain, in which, at the end of the hills to the north ran a long stretch of trees which seemed to us to be on some river, and on its banks the plain of the valley follows, communicating with the plain that we saw from the high hill. In the distance we saw a high mountain range which seemed to be far off to the northwest, and at the foot of it I saw a small round blue hill which the soldiers told me was an island of the estuary.

We descended the hill and approached the trees, which we found to mark a river which had water only in pools. At about half-past twelve we halted near it, close to some live oaks with which the plain of the river is covered.† Near the camping place we found vestiges of a village which showed evidences of having been recently moved. About two in the afternoon it began to rain, but not heavily, and the drizzle lasted till night.

* The hills that close the valley just north of Coyote.

† This camp was made soon after crossing the hills north of Coyote.

November 27.—As it was the first Sunday of Advent, early in the morning I said Mass, and everybody heard it. As the men were all wet from the rain of yesterday afternoon the commander decided not to start until after dinner, in order to give an opportunity, with the bright sun that came out, to dry the clothing, and so we did not start till twelve. We followed the spacious plain west by northwest, and we found that the valley continues with good pastures and well grown with oaks.*

In a little grove of those trees, about one in the afternoon, we came to three heathen with bows and arrows. Apparently they had been hunting, for we did not see in all that vicinity either villages or smokes, although on the plain we came across many well-beaten paths. When they saw us they made no attempt to run away or hide themselves. We passed not far from them and I called to them, but they did not wish to come near, even though I showed them some beads, but they made signs that I should throw them, which I did, but not even then did they approach. Seeing this, the commander alighted, took the beads, and gave them to them; we then went on our way, leaving them at their work.

About half-past one we reached on the same plain a large marsh with much tule. It was so miry that we could not cross it, and had to go around it,

* Here the explorers turned westward, leaving the route of the earlier expeditions, made by Fages and Crespi.

taking the road to the south for nearly half an hour until we came to an arroyo with plenty of water and blackberry brambles, finding it necessary to do some work on the ford to make it passable. We crossed it with some difficulty, and some of the soldiers got very wet. We again took the road west by northwest, following the plain of good land, partly wooded with small trees resembling junipers, and among them some larger madrones, with fruit the size of a chick-pea, but not yet ripe.

We found on the way two arroyos with plenty of trees but no water, and at half-past five we stopped at a grove of oaks, in which we found good pasture for the animals, but no water. For ourselves we made use of a little which we had brought in a leather bottle.*

November 28.—The day broke very clear, and before sunrise we saw a rainbow in the west. About seven we set out from the camping place in a northwesterly direction, following the same plain. The day's march, although it has not been more than four hours and a half,[114] has been very heavy, for although it has been all over level ground, yet it has been troublesome on account of the thick groves of junipers and madrones that I spoke of yesterday, although the woods were interspersed with good spots of land covered with grass, oaks, and live oaks. In the day's march we came to three arroyos, two of them without water, one having it

* Camp was apparently on Calabazas Creek, westward of Santa Clara and not far from Cupertino.

only in pools. But all three have many trees in their courses.*

At half-past eleven we came to another deep arroyo with a good stream of water, measuring about two bueys, flowing through it. Its course is well grown with cottonwoods, willows, alders, laurels, blackberries, and others not known. Near the crossing there is a grove of very tall redwood trees, and a hundred steps farther down another very large one of the same redwood, which is visible more than a league before reaching the arroyo, and appears from a distance like a tower.† We crossed the arroyo, which has a very steep ascent and descent, and halted at half-past eleven in the morning near the arroyo in a very broad plain, which has good pastures for the animals and many oaks and live oaks.

In the whole day's march we have not seen a single heathen, but we did see many paths crossing the plain and coming down from the high mountains of the north to the great estuary, which we have in sight only a league from the camping place. On reaching this arroyo, looking along its low bank, the commander saw in the distance two Indians who immediately hid and did not allow themselves to be seen again.

* Stevens Creek, Permanente Creek, San Antonio Creek, and Madera Creek were all in the line of march.

† This arroyo was San Francisquito Creek. The crossing was at Palo Alto, near the railroad bridge, where the tall redwood tree (palo alto) still stands. For Portolá's stop here in 1769, see Volume II, 220.

The first expedition was at this place, which was the limit reached by them, and they stopped here while the explorers were looking for the harbor of San Francisco, on December 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1769, and in the afternoon of the 11th they retraced their steps by the same road along the shore by which they had come.

The place seemed to us, to the commander as well as to me, suitable for a mission, and the site nearest the estuary or arm of the sea of the harbor of San Francisco. It has much good, arable land, pasture, timber, firewood, and water, for that of this arroyo, though it is very deep, yet, as it comes down from high hills, can easily be conducted to irrigate this plain. In addition to this water there are other small arroyos which descend from the hills and flow with the slope of the plain and empty into the estuary. The place where the estuary communicates with the sea of the Gulf is about one day's travel, marching light, by the plain, which is completely covered with pasture and oaks.

If the barks should enter the estuary and drop anchor in it, they would have this mission at hand, and it could receive supplies from them with ease. This place is in north latitude thirty-seven degrees and forty-six minutes, and its neighborhood is well populated with villages, whose people frequent the estuary in search of mussels and fish.

At two in the afternoon six heathen from the nearest village came to visit us, all unarmed. They

have been with us the entire afternoon, with as much confidence as though they were with their own people. They are very gentle, friendly, well featured, and most of them are bearded. I made the sign of the cross on them all, and they were very attentive to the ceremony, though they did not understand it nor the end to which it was directed. I said to them in the language of Monterey a few things about God and heaven, but, although they were very attentive, I was not satisfied that they understood me, although when I spoke to them about other things they seemed to understand me, and when they spoke I understood many of their words, although I perceived that there was a great difference between the languages. I gave all of them some strings of beads.

When they saw the arrows which the people of the village in the valley had given us, they asked me where we got them, and, telling them that it was from the village through which we had passed, I gave the arrows to them, with which they were much pleased. They bade us farewell, telling me that they were going to inform the people in the next villages, and that on the following day they would come and bring us mussels, atole, and pinole. I thanked them and told them we were going very early in the morning, but that afterwards we would return to live with them, to teach them what was necessary to be saved. They showed signs of being well pleased and said they would all get together and build their houses. With this they said farewell.

In view of the fact that this place is the nearest to the estuary, and that it has everything necessary for a mission, it seemed to the commander and me proper to fix there the standard of the holy cross, which we did, making it of good timbers. We planted it on the bank of the arroyo near the ford where we had made camp, fixing in it our earnest desires to found on this same site a church dedicated to my Seraphic Father San Francisco, whom I name as my intercessor so that His Divine Majesty may grant me the happiness of seeing in my time the many heathen who inhabit these parts reduced to our Holy Faith.

November 29.—We set out from the camping place a little before seven. For this reason, and because it was very cold, the heathen of yesterday did not appear. We took the road to the northwest by the same plain or valley of good land and much pasture, grown with oaks and live oaks. The estuary comes very near on the north, and to the south there is a high mountain range covered with redwood trees. At the foot of it there is a range of hills of good land, pasture, and groves of oaks and live oaks. The whole plain runs in the same way, with groves of live oaks in places. At every step we came to paths well beaten by heathen coming down from the mountains to the estuary, and I would be delighted to follow one of them to see what there is on the shore of the estuary or arm of the sea. We traveled about two hours and a half by that plain and crossed

some arroyos of running water which descend from the hills and empty in the estuary, which could be made use of with little labor for irrigating the good land of this plain.

Although the latter continues until very near the mouth of the estuary, without being interrupted by mountains or hills, the commander, being fearful of striking one of the marshes that are in the neighborhood of the shore of the estuary, decided to ascend the hills and enter a narrow valley between the hills and the high mountains to the south, this being the road followed by the first expedition, so that in this manner, without any hindrance or delay, we may approach the mouth of the estuary to examine it. On the return we will take the road by the plain, approaching as nearly as possible to the shore of the estuary. In consequence of this decision we left the plain and ascended by the skirt of a hill which makes a pass allowing an easy descent to the narrow valley between the mountains and the range of hills.*

While we were traveling to the range of hills we saw on its summit a party of heathen, who immediately came to meet us, showing themselves to be very gentle and friendly. They all came near me, and without any repugnance whatever allowed the sign of the cross to be made on them. I caressed them and gave them some strings of beads, with which they were well pleased; the commander did

* They perhaps turned west up Belmont Creek. On the other side they descended to Crystal Springs Lake.

the same. These Indians are well formed, tall, many of them of a reddish color and as bearded as any Spaniard, with long hair. They were naked, here and there one wearing a little cape reaching from the shoulders to the waist. Most of them carry long rods like lances in their hands. They climbed the hill with us, and then I saw a little plain in a small valley, through which a good arroyo runs, and a village of small houses well built of grass, with many people of all ages and both sexes.

The heathen led us toward their village, but we turned away from it and followed the pass, then crossed the arroyo, which is well forested with trees. Seeing that we were not going to their village many others joined those who were accompanying us, among them some five boys about fifteen years old, all equally amiable. We descended the range of hills to the foot of the high mountains on the south, well covered with redwoods, live oaks, and other trees. The floor of the valley is almost entirely made up of lakes, marshes, and rivulets, well grown with tules and trees, and inhabited by many geese.

We then came upon the path followed by the expedition of 1769, which is along the south slope of the range of hills. At every step we crossed arroyos with good volumes of water, from which, together with those that descend from the high mountains to the south, these lagoons and marshes are formed. In this valley we found, very near the road, four villages with many people, of the same

disposition as those who were accompanying us. We halted a little while in each village without alighting, to make friends with them and to give them beads. The chiefs invited us to stop with them, but we left them with these desires, and happy with the beads, while we went on, but they continued to follow us in bands[115] from village to village, very content and joyous. I noticed that these Indians understood more of the words of the language of Monterey than the others did, and I understood more of the words which they spoke.

From one of these villages two very old women came out to bring us presents. One of them, who was more than eighty years old, told me she was the daughter of the other one, who was now blind and was led by the hand by a boy, and I understood that she had there great-great-grandchildren. They gave us some baskets of atole and some large tamales made of seeds, and I reciprocated with beads, after having made the sign of the cross on the old woman and those of her descendants who were present.

At half-past twelve we stopped on a level place on the slope of that valley, which has good pasture for the animals, plenty of firewood, and water not only in the large arroyo of the valley but also in a little arroyo which descends from the hills. Near it we made camp, having been followed all the way by a large company of heathen.*

* Camp was near San Andreas Lake, westward of San Mateo.

On the road a boy separated from them and approached me. He was a youth of about twenty years, of a reddish complexion, well-favored, with a little beard, and his face stained with ochre. He followed us the whole way through the valley, without leaving my side, and I noticed that he began to cry. When I asked him why he was crying he answered me, but I could not understand what he said, but I noticed that he put his hand on his breast and looked at me very tenderly, making signs that he would go on with me. I gave him a biscuit, in case he should be suffering from hunger. He took it and divided it with some of his companions, tasting it himself also, but he did not on that account stop giving sighs now and then. He went with us to the camping place and remained, with another one, until nightfall, when they went to their village to sleep.

Every day while we were in the neighborhood of his village he did not fail to come to visit us and bring others with him, with such demonstrations of confidence that as soon as he arrived he drew near me and, lifting my habit, covered himself with it, saying "Me apam," "Thou art my father," which is the same word as those of Monterey use. He certainly touched my feelings, and I would gladly have taken him to Monterey, even though it had been necessary to cover him with my habit the whole way, but since this was not possible now, I told him I would return to live with them and would make him

my son, showing him what was necessary for him to be this and and to save his soul. It seemed to me that he understood, and showed signs of pleasure.

November 30.—Before daylight I said Mass, as it was the Feast of San Andrés. For this reason this valley was called San Andrés, because the first expedition that passed here did not give it a name on account of not finding any village, while now, in the short stretch that we have traveled, we have found five large ones. From this it is inferred that the country is well populated and that the inhabitants move their villages readily from place to place.

While we were saddling the mules the heathen began to come, and my son, The Sorrowful, did not fail to be among them. We left the camp at seven, although the heavy fog did not permit me to see the sun and make sure of the hour. We followed the course of the valley, which continues the same, very green and pleasant. After traveling about an hour through it we came to a village, that of the heathen who are accompanying us and making the crossing of the arroyos better for us, which has saved us a good deal of time. At half-past nine we emerged from the valley and ascended some high hills. Among them, on a good floor, we found a lake, formed by the water of a small arroyo, which has plenty of trees, firewood, and an abundance of pasture, on the floor as well as on the hills. And as we were far off from the mouth of the estuary the

captain decided to stop at this lake, and so the day's march lasted but two and a half hours.*

To the north of the camping place there is a very high hill, which I climbed with the captain to see the estuary. We succeeded in getting an excellent view of it, especially of the arm that runs by the plain through which we have been traveling these days. But the one that runs to the northwest we could not see, and much less the mouth by which it communicates with the Gulf of the Farallones, for we are prevented from seeing it by a high peak which is in front of us. I was of the opinion that the estuary must be from twelve to fifteen leagues long to the southeastern point or end. It enters by the mouth to the northwest. Near the mouth it is about two leagues wide,[116] and soon widens to nearly five, and then goes on diminishing as far as the head, which must be about a league wide. On this southerly side where we are we saw its entire shore, which is full of small lagoons, small estuaries, and arroyos which empty into the large estuary.

Judging by the tule beds which we have seen on its banks, it may have many marshes, and for this reason I suspect it will be very difficult to get to the very shore of the estuary, although by following some one of the many paths that we crossed in the plain we can solve this difficulty, for it is the inten-

* Camp was at one of the small lakes between the cemeteries and Mussel Rock. The hill which Rivera climbed after halting was Buri Buri Ridge, or possibly San Bruno Mountain.

tion to explore on the return, leaving the road through the valley of San Andrés, and going through the plain between the hills and the estuary. We could not see the other side or shore of the estuary clearly on account of a light fog with which it was covered.

All this day we have had visits from heathen, both from the village in the valley of San Andrés, and from those on the shore of the great estuary. They were accompanied by The Sorrowful, of whom I spoke above. I gave them presents of beads, and they ate of our food. I noticed that they took a special liking to the beans, and I took this opportunity to tell them that in our country we had these good seeds, and the kind from which the biscuit, better than theirs, is made; that I would return to live with them and would plant these seeds, and they would gather them in abundance. I thought they understood me and were pleased, for they replied that they would all get together and build their houses.

At four in the afternoon a heavy fog came up, very damp and cold. Seeing this, I told the heathen to go to their village to sleep. Taking up their lighted firebrands with which to warm themselves on the way, they took themselves off. In the night the fog and cold grew sharper; a west wind rose which converted it into rain, and the whole night long it rained on us and the wind blew hard, giving us a very bad night.

December 1.—Dawn broke with rain, which had fallen all the preceding night, and although it stopped about nine, the weather remained dark, with a thick fog. At twelve it cleared, and the captain decided to ascend the peak that we had in sight, to see if he could make out the mouth of the estuary. He went with four soldiers, and I remained with the rest in camp. About two in the afternoon the heathen came, among them being two boys from fifteen to twenty years old. I coaxed them with beads and a little biscuit. Afterwards the commander came back, saying that the estuary was so obscured by fog that he could see nothing. At the hour of the rosary I told the heathen to go to their village to sleep, on account of the cold. They asked me if we were going away the next day and I told them yes, if it did not rain. But the north-northwest[117] wind blew hard all night and kept us awake.

December 2.—It dawned very cloudy and cold, notwithstanding which the captain set out on the same business. About half-past twelve he returned, saying that he had been very near the mouth of the estuary, and that the mouth, where it communicates with the Gulf of the Farallones, cannot be more than half a league wide; that near it, on the gulf side, there are three large rocks which are visible from a great distance, and that inside the estuary near the mouth he saw an island, and behind it a very good large bay; that in the estuary or bay that is behind

the island the water is calm, with no swell, although strong winds blow; but that the sea in the Gulf of the Farallones is not so rough as on the coast of Monterey. He says, also, that the mouth is not in the center of the bay but is close to a high mountain range, which ends off Point Reyes. He noticed that from the place where we are camped we can go by the shore to the mouth itself, and in consequence of this he decided not to leave without going to see it nearer by.

In this journey the captain observed that this place where we are camped is more molested by winds and cold than are places close to the estuary[118]; and, with the object of getting a little relief from the cold, he decided to move the camp, descending from the hills and drawing near the estuary. This was done about four in the afternoon, when we approached about half a league nearer the estuary and halted in a plain of good pasture, in which, near the shore, runs an arroyo with plenty of water and firewood.

December 3.—During the whole of last night it[119] rained and blew, and has continued in the same way the whole morning. In the afternoon the rain stopped, but the wind continued very strong and cold. Notwithstanding the bad weather, about two in the afternoon twenty-four heathen came to visit us from villages other than the preceding, although they speak the same language and use many of the same words as those of Monterey. They brought us their present of large tamales, more than a span

across and correspondingly thick, kneaded of a dough made of very black wild seeds, resembling tar. I tasted them and found them to be very oily but not unsavory. I returned their gift with strings of beads, and the captain did the same. All the afternoon they remained with us, close to the fire, bringing in the meantime all the firewood and water that were needed.

These Indians are of a good height, like the others of whom I have already spoken, most of them bearded, some being of a reddish color. They carried short lances with points of flint, as well made as though they were iron,[120] the only difference being that they are smooth. Before reciting the rosary we told them to go to their village to sleep, but they replied that it was far away, and that they would remain to sleep among the trees of the arroyo. The captain permitted it, and, taking their firebrands, they went to sleep. The strong and very cold wind continued all night.

December 4.—Day dawned with the same cold wind as had been blowing all night, which did not permit me to say Mass, although it was Sunday, for I could not keep a light at the altar on account of the wind. Later the sun came out, but even then the wind did not stop blowing. Nevertheless, the captain decided that we should all set out to draw somewhat nearer the mouth of the estuary, with the object of going to examine it if the weather should permit. While they were saddling the animals the same heathen of yesterday afternoon came, and I

stayed with them near the fire while the pack mules were being loaded. I told them we were going now, but that I would return to live with them, which it seems they understood, for they appeared to be happy about it.

I again made them presents of beads and a little tobacco, and as soon as they saw it they called it by the same word as at Monterey, *savans*. They began to smoke, and I noticed in them the same ceremony of blowing the smoke upwards, repeating some words with each puff. I only understood one, *esmen*, which means sun. I observed that they followed the same custom of the principal man smoking first, then giving the pipe to another and so on to others. I bade them farewell, first making the sign of the cross on them, which no one resisted. We set out from the camp at half-past eight, and the heathen went to the beach of the bay, which they call *aguas*, in distinction from those of Monterey, who call it *calen*. Four of them accompanied us, without having asked permission.

We took the road directly to the north over low hills, crossing some valleys, in which we encountered three arroyos of running water, with no trees in them but some small willows and a little tule. After traveling an hour and a half we found not far from the road a dead deer partly eaten by wolves, and the heathen stayed there with it, after asking us for fire to roast it with. We kept on our way until eleven, when we halted on the side of a hill, at whose

foot runs an arroyo, from the water of which is formed a long lake* which comes to an end at the shore.

While they were preparing a mouthful for us to eat, the commander decided to go and see the mouth of the bay, in case it should rain in the afternoon. We two set out with four soldiers about two o'clock, taking the road to the northwest. We crossed some hills and some arroyos in their valleys and afterward found ourselves among some sand dunes, which we crossed with difficulty. From these we descended to the edge of the beach of the Gulf of the Farallones; and, continuing in this direction straight to the north on the beach for about half a league we came to a cliff† made by a high ridge which prevented us from following the beach. There are some six rocks, three of them large and sharp-pointed, which we saw from the land at a long distance. At sea they could be made out many leagues before reaching them, and they may serve as a guide to the entrance by the bay. They are about a gunshot south of the mouth, and consequently do not interfere with the entrance.

Seeing that the cliff prevented us from passing by the beach, we climbed the ridge, most of which is level, sandy ground, and when we were on the summit we saw that this ridge forms the southern point of the mouth of the bay, and that by its cliff

* This was Lake Merced.

† They were at the site of Cliff House. The rocks or farallones mentioned were Seal Rocks.

facing north it makes a wall for the strait or channel* through which the bay communicates with the sea. On the other side, to the north, the high mountain range which runs to the west serves as a wall, and ends farther out with Point Reyes. The northern cliff of the strait is of red rock, and is precipitous and higher than the ridge where we were, which is bathed by the water of the channel or mouth.

It seemed to us that the mouth might be less than a league in length, from east to west, in which direction it runs, and about a quarter of a league in width in the narrowest place, from south to north. The channel is clear, and has no rocks under water, for the only two that it has are close to the cliff on the south side. We saw no surf in the channel, but whether it has sufficient depth for the entrance of large craft we could not ascertain, for it is necessary to examine it with launches. What we did see is that the water, which we had in sight, for we were standing on the cliff which it bathes, is calm, without a single wave. We saw the great bay, also, just as we had seen it from the high range of hills, and that its waters are as quiet as those of a lake. To the north in the mouth of the bay we saw a moderately large island,† but it did not obstruct the entrance, for between it and the land on the south we saw the channel by which entrance can be had

* Palóu here is speaking of the outer entrance, and not of the narrowest part of the Golden Gate.

† It is not clear whether Palóu means Angel Island or Goat Island.

into the estuary which runs to the southeast. On the north side there is another channel by which the estuary to the northwest enters. It seemed to us that each of the two channels had the same width as the mouth where it enters the bay, which is about a quarter of a league.

Behind the island there is a great deal of water, and it seems that near the shore the land is level. Although we saw high mountains, it seemed to us that they were some distance from that beach, and that if barks should enter by the mouth or channel they could anchor behind the island, where they would be sheltered from the winds. They would be free from any swell as soon as they entered the channel, for they would now leave the Gulf of the Farallones. And even in this we noticed that there was little swell, for even after such heavy winds as have been blowing all these days and still continue up to to-day, we saw that the beach was quiet.

Although I have said there are cliffs on each side of the channel, and that between them the bay debouches into the Gulf, yet, after passing the narrowest part of the channel the beach on the north side is low. And it is the same on this south side, and there would be nothing to prevent launches from crossing and loading and unloading, and even horses, for the purpose of going to Point Reyes, near which it is said the harbor of San Francisco is, for, since the channel is so narrow, it might perhaps be possible for animals to cross in tow of canoes.

I could not observe the latitude, as it was about one o'clock, but, according to the observation made by the father prior Fr. Juan Crespi, on the 26th of March of the past year of 1772, when he was in the parallel of the mouth on the other side, to the east, about three leagues distant from the beach, the latitude came out for him thirty-seven degrees and fifty-four minutes. So I conclude that this must be its latitude, and that if there is any difference it must be only a few minutes.

Having in sight from the cliff the Gulf of the Farallones, the two points, Los Reyes and Angel de la Guarda, alias Las Almejas,* which form it, and in it a heap of sharp-pointed islands, which it seemed to me are those farther to the south and farther inside the Gulf, I set the needle to survey them, and it put these to the west-southwest.[121] Angel Point, which must be about five leagues distant, is located to the south. And Point Reyes, which is the end of a high bare range of mountains, having a few clumps of trees, and which must be distant from the mouth of channel of the estuary more than twenty leagues, it put to the west-northwest of me. This may serve as a guide for navigators who may wish to find the mouth of the bay and enter it; so that, being at Point Reyes, by steering to the east-southeast, they will strike the mouth of the entrance to the bay, and two leagues before it they will descry the three farallones which are at the foot of a cliff;†

* San Pedro Point. † Seal Rocks.

and near them, inclining to the north, they will find the entrance. From the southernmost of the faral-lones mentioned, steering to the east-northeast, they will also find the entrance. And from Angel Point, or Las Almejas, steering directly north, although that point projects but slightly into the sea, I judge that they will not come near it.

The coast that runs from the mouth of the bay to Point Reyes appears to run straight west-north-west, and I only saw that it made a bend with a beach, which we saw clearly, about four leagues before reaching the mouth of the estuary. If there is anchorage in the bend, barks can take shelter and be protected from the winds, especially those from west to northeast, against which it seemed to me there is good shelter in the bend, which forms a sort of a bay. It might serve as a place in which to await the high tide, or the necessary wind to enter or pass into the bay by its mouth.

In the high range of mountains which ends with Point Reyes we saw, in the distance, inside of a grove of trees, the smoke of a village of heathen. Now that we saw so near at hand the mouth by which the bay is entered, it seemed to us that its width was not more than a quarter of a league, although from a distance it seems wider, for the commander, who had seen it two days previously from the top of a hill, about half a league from it, judged it to be half a league wide. For this reason I am not surprised that when the last expedition

saw it from the other side as far as ten leagues away, it appeared to them to be about three quarters of a league wide, as the diary says.* For from the site from which they were looking at it they saw the island and the channels by which the two arms of the estuary enter, and it appeared to them that this stretch of the island and the channels measured the width of the mouth. But we now saw it to be narrow inside, about a quarter of a league, and that it must be of the same width on each side of the island that is in the mouth. The rest of the islands mentioned in the diary we could not see from the precipitous cliff.

Observing that this cliff of the strait or mouth of the estuary of San Francisco is on the point of land, and that up to the present time no Spaniard nor any Christian had set foot on it, the commander and I decided to plant the standard of the holy cross on the summit of it, and we did so, making it of two timbers, and leaving it planted on the spot,† which may be seen from the beach. This finished, we returned by the same road along the beach, and afterwards by the ridge to the camp, arriving about three. On the beach we found the skeleton of a whale and a tule raft, of the sort used by the heathen for fishing, although we did not see in the stretch from the camp to the mouth of the estuary a single heathen or any tracks of them; but we did see deer at every step, and we met bands of six or eight[122] of them together.

* See Volume II, 339. † The cross was placed on Point Lobos.

The commander, seeing that the weather was so cold and rainy, and that the ground was becoming so heavy, and the rain continuing, and fearing that the roads would become impassable, and the mules which had just come up from California with the families would grow tired, decided to-night to return to the presidio of Monterey, notwithstanding that we had set out with provisions for forty days, with the intention of going to explore the course of the great river discovered by the last expedition which empties into the estuary on the northeast, postponing this exploration until after the rains were over.

December 5.—In consequence of the decision of the commander to return to the presidio by the beach and road followed by the expedition of the year 1769, we set out from the camping place about seven in the morning, taking the road to the south, and crossing hills of pure earth covered with grass, with several valleys which have their arroyos of running water which end in lagoons. The day's march lasted six hours, counting some stops that we made to give an opportunity to the soldiers to hunt geese, thousands of which were seen. They succeeded in killing some, but I did not taste them because it was Advent. After three hours' travel over the hills we had to go down a very high one, the descent of which, besides being long, was very steep. At the foot of it we came upon the path left by the first expedition five years before, and it is the intention to follow it until we reach Monterey.

At eleven we came to a large lake between high hills, which are in the plain ending in a small bay on the beach, about a league distant from Point Angel de la Guarda. If the beach permits it and there is no precipice in the way, we will save a good stretch of road and avoid some bad spots. The lake compelled us to make a detour of about half a league, and it was necessary for us to draw close to the beach and cross over the sand which surrounds the lake. We made a detour around the lake and stopped about one in the afternoon in a canyon of the valley near an arroyo of running water, one of the two in the valley from which the lake is formed. It is well covered with tule, and on its banks there are some willows and blackberry brambles. The beds of both arroyos are the same; and on the slopes of the hills I saw here and there a live oak.*

If the place had timber it would be suitable for a mission, on account of its proximity to the mouth of the port, for it does not lack land, water, or pasture for cattle. Shortly after our arrival it began to cloud up and threaten rain, but in spite of the signs, it came to no more than a mist and thick fog, which lasted all night and wet the ground thoroughly.

December 6.—Day dawned with a heavy, thick fog, so damp that it was like rain, but we set out at the usual hour. Soon after leaving camp we began to climb high hills,† and on account of the ground

* Camp was made in San Pedro Valley, east of San Pedro Point.

† They were now crossing Montara Mountain.

being so wet the path was very heavy. There were some dangerous spots, especially the sides of some high, steep hills, and I preferred to trust to my own feet rather than to those of the mounts. After these climbs we had to descend the slope of a hill, all earth covered with grass, and when this was finished we found ourselves near the beach of Angel Point, alias Las Almejas, so-called because of the large number of mussels found there by the first expedition, with which they relieved the hunger from which they were suffering on account of the lack of provisions.

We followed the level road over the skirts of hills, and traveled about a league on the beach at the edge of the sea, but were prevented the rest of the way by the precipitous nature of the shore. On the plain of the skirts of the ridge we crossed four deep arroyos, which caused a great deal of trouble on account of the steepness of their banks and the ups and downs required to cross them.

About two in the afternoon, as we were just reaching the fifth arroyo, we saw near the beach two heathen, who, as soon as they saw us, ran away to their village, which they have on the arroyo. Immediately about fifteen heathen came out of it with their bows and arrows. As soon as we reached them the commander, who was going ahead, made them a sign to bring the bows and arrows, and at once one of them, who was doubtless their chief, ordered the bows and arrows gathered up, and sent one of their number with them to the village. They

asked us if we were staying there, and when we told them we were going to camp on the other side of the arroyo they showed us the descent, which is very precipitous and deep, and the ascent is the same. We stopped near the arroyo at two in the afternoon, after a day's march of seven hours. The place abounds in pasture and water, but it lacks firewood. However, the heathen immediately provided us with all that we needed, carrying it from a valley behind the range of hills.*

The village is built in the arroyo itself, on a thick wall that it forms like an island, in such a manner that from the plain the arroyo is not visible, and still less the houses of the village. Doubtless they live in this place to escape the cold winds which blow hard there. Their village did not appear to be large, judging by the small number of houses as well as of people, for the adults who permitted themselves to be seen could not be more than twenty. I made them all gifts of beads. The women and children did not approach the camp the whole day; but the men remained with us, very busy, even their chief, bringing firewood and water for our use, and making a fire for the cooking as well as to warm us and mitigate the cold caused by the very thick, damp fog. These Indians belong to another village in the Sierra, so we understood, and are here only in passing.

* Camp was made not far from the site of the town of Half Moon Bay, perhaps on Pilarcitos Creek. From here the route was close to the beach all the way to San Lorenzo River, over Portolá's trail, made in 1769. See Volume II, 202–211.

Their chief or head man told us that he had known our captain since the first expedition, when he had accompanied him for a day's march.* The commander made him a present of a small handkerchief, and gave him and all the rest strings of beads. Most of them are well-formed young men, and nearly all are bearded. Their dress is that given them by nature, like all the rest, here and there being one with a little cape on his shoulders. I observed that these people here did not understand the language of Monterey. The women remained all the afternoon in sight on the cliff on the other side of the arroyo, which is where the path is to go down to the village. We saw that they cover themselves with skins like the rest that we have seen on the road. The men ate in the camp and I noticed that they were very fond of our food. I gave them a little tobacco and they at once began to smoke. I observed that they practiced the same ceremony as the rest, blowing the smoke to the four winds and pronouncing some words that I did not understand.

At the hour of vespers I told them to go to their village to sleep. They then asked if we were going, and when we told them not until the next day they went to their village to pass the night, during nearly the whole of which it rained.

December 7.—Day broke raining, and the commander decided not to start, as the men were very wet. About ten o'clock, when the rain stopped and the day opened a little, the heathen came with

* Rivera had been with Portolá in 1769.

their present of some very large baskets of thick porridge, which appeared to be made of acorns, and some large tamales of black seeds, which have not a bad taste although their color is ugly. Among them came a boy about twelve years old, son of the chief, whom I pleased with beads and other little gifts, with which his father seemed to be gratified, and the commander did the same. They stayed with us in the camp the remainder of the day. About two in the afternoon the sun came out, so that the clothing could be dried. The commander told the heathen that if the sun shone the next day we would start, and he invited them, if they wished to go, to accompany us and show us the fords of the arroyos. Their chief replied that he would come with more of his companions, and with this intention they retired at the hour of vespers to their village.

This place and all that which we traveled through yesterday would be very suitable for a settlement if it had firewood and timber for building, for the land is very good mellow soil for planting, and from any one of the arroyos that we crossed it could be irrigated easily, by taking the water above before it enters the plain. But on account of this lack it can serve only for cattle ranches, though it has good pasture on all the land, on the hills as well as on the plains, as far as the edge of the sea.

December 8.—Before daylight I said Mass to our sweet patroness of the Spains and of my Seraphic Order, to which everybody listened. Dawn

broke shortly after it was concluded, making a delightful day, with good sun, and so we set out from the camp at the usual hour. While they were saddling, the commander went to the village and from the slope called to the people, inviting them for the start. They came at once, bearing pikes for weapons, their chief leading the procession. Shortly after leaving the camping place we came to a very deep arroyo, with a troublous descent and ascent to the other bank. We crossed it with difficulty, and I got wet in it half-way up my legs. Before we had traveled half a league we came to another larger and deeper one; but the heathen guided us to a good ford and we all crossed it without accident. This arroyo crossed, we began to ascend and descend hills, crossing valleys, some of them very steep.

The heathen, with good intentions, without the commander or the experienced soldiers who came with the first expedition observing it, took us by another path, in another direction, and led us to the top of a very high hill. When we reached the summit we saw that it had a very long and precipitous descent. In the deep valley there was an arroyo with many trees and a very dense grove of redwoods, and on the other side we were faced by a very high mountain range, grown with the trees named, and, judging by its steepness, we believed it to be impassable. On the slope of this range we saw very many people, and we then perceived that

those who were accompanying us were leading us to the village. Seeing this, the commander decided not to descend to the arroyo, but to turn to the south and descend the high hill, with the object of continuing our way through a valley which we made out between the hills and the mountain range.

As soon as the heathen saw that we were taking another road they stopped, as though abashed, and those from the village came running, without any arms at all, and overtook us on the descent. One of them, who had a beard as long as the oldest hermit, made us a speech in which, by the signs, we understood that he was inviting us to his village, for, having learned of our coming, they had prepared atole and pinole. We thanked him, but told him we were going by another road, for those mountains were very high and we could not cross them, and that we would return later. I made him a present of some beads, and the same to those who overtook us. We then took our leave of them, at which they seemed quite sad.

We kept on in the same direction to the south on the skirt of the hills, which come to an end at a narrow valley. At half-past ten we arrived at an arroyo with a good supply of running water with many cottonwoods, willows, alders, and Castilian roses. In order to cross the arroyo it was necessary to clear away the brush to open the road, and make a trail up the bank[123] which was very high and steep and without a path, after which it was crossed with-

out accident. This same arroyo was crossed by the first expedition, who named it for my father Santo Domingo.* Near that arroyo I saw some little houses of the heathen, abandoned, and it was thought that the village which formerly was situated in this arroyo had been moved to the beach, where they also have a village, only about half a league distant.

We went on, and just before twelve entered the valleys of San Pedro Regalado, in which we found two very large arroyos containing a good volume of water and well grown with cottonwoods, alders, willows, live oaks, and some thick groves of redwoods in the side canyons of the valley. Besides the two large arroyos there are other smaller ones with running water and lagoons grown with good patches of tule. These valleys have much good arable land which could be easily irrigated with the water from the arroyos. There are good pastures, much firewood, and timber for building, especially the redwood, which bears a strong resemblance to cedar.

Near the two large arroyos we found vestiges of villages, with a cemetery, in which were planted two slender poles, straight and very high. From the point of each one hung a small cape made of grass of the sort used by the heathen, which doubtless belonged to those who were buried there, as is their custom. This site is very suitable for a large mission, for it has every requisite, and there

* See Volume II, 208.

are many villages in the neighborhood which could easily be congregated, for the place and the proximity of the beach, which must be half a league distant, invite to it.

To make it possible to cross both the large arroyos, which are about a league apart on a level road, and to open a path for the descent and ascent, which caused some delay, it was necessary to clear away the brush to open a road among the trees. As soon as we crossed the second arroyo we stopped in a small valley grown with chestnuts and live oaks, at three in the afternoon, after a march of eight hours, counting the delays, with a good sun, which gave such a strong heat that I fear it is going to rain again.

December 9.—Day broke with heavy frost, so that even the water in the vessels froze. About seven we set out from the place, following the same road as the former expedition, ascending and descending hills of fertile land, with good pasture, but without timber or firewood, for only here and there in a canyon between the hills are to be seen some live oaks and redwoods. We crossed some arroyos of running water in the valleys between the hills.

At nine o'clock we came to a moderately large valley, in which there is a marsh with a great deal of tule and a good arroyo with an abundance of running water and many cottonwoods, alders, and willows, over which a ford had to be prepared to permit the crossing. On its banks we found vestiges

of a deserted village, with its cemetery, in which was planted a high pole, this being the monument used by the heathen for the sepulchres of the chief men of the village. Some of the soldiers said this was the place where the first expedition found a large village with many houses, among them one extremely large, for which reason the village was given the name of Casa Grande.* Near the place, in a canyon or opening between two hills, we saw a grove of redwood trees.

Having crossed the arroyo with some difficulty, we had in sight a high and steep hill, and in order to avoid it and escape its roughness the commander decided to take the road to the west, for the purpose of descending to the beach. This was accomplished by crossing some hills, not so steep, and we soon reached the shore, although it was so precipitous where the land ends at the sea that it gave us no room to travel along the edge of the water. So it was necessary to make our way along the skirt of the range of hills, and although it is all good level land, with much pasture, there were some arroyos with very deep descents and ascents which we crossed with some difficulty.

At ten we came to another very deep arroyo whose descent is a precipice, so that it was necessary to take a winding path to get down to it, and to cross it on the sand of the beach, which checks its waters, and underneath which it enters the sea.

* On Gazos Creek.

This we did with the object of following the road by the beach used by the first expedition. We did this, but after traveling for a good stretch along the beach, the current no longer allowed us to pass, for the water and the cliffs stopped us. We were compelled to retrace our steps in all haste, and to quickly climb the steep bank of the arroyo, in order to stop there and await the falling of the tide to cross this bad place.

On the other steep bank of the arroyo to the south we saw that the level ground on the hills continued, but we observed that it was only for a short stretch, and then it ended in a very high, almost impassable mountain range. For this reason, and because the experienced Indians who went on the first expedition said they could find no other pass in this section but that by the edge of the water, the commander decided to halt and be on the spot ready to cross as soon as it was seen that the tide was falling, even though it should be at night. Accordingly we stopped on the summit of the steep bank of the arroyo, where there are good pasture, water, and firewood. In this arroyo I saw two little houses deserted by the heathen, but during the whole march to-day I have only seen one heathen. He was in the distance, climbing up from the beach to the hills. The people of the villages which they found on the first expedition we thought must be in the mountains collecting acorns. The day's march lasted three hours and a half and was very weari-

some on account of the arroyos as well as the heaviness of the ground from the rain that has fallen in these days.

The stretch that we traveled by the beach was full of geese, but the soldiers succeeded in killing only one in passing. From this place on the cliff, we have in sight and only half a league off to the north, Point Año Nuevo,* which with Point Pinos forms the great bay of Monterey. We see far away to the south the Sierra de Santa Lucía.

Point Año Nuevo is a low tongue of stony land of very slight elevation, but it runs far out into the sea, and doubtless navigators recognized it by the range of hills and the high mountains close to it. But between that low point and the hills there is more than half a league of level land on the skirt of the range of hills which we have crossed to-day. This point is in latitude thirty-seven degrees and five minutes, and is located west by northwest from this cliff. From this point to Point Pinos, which is at the mouth of the bay of Monterey, it must be twelve or fifteen maritime leagues, but on account of the deep curve of the bay the distance by land is much greater.

Point Año Nuevo projects into the sea much farther than Point Pinos. It inclines somewhat to the south, for which reason, from the presidio and even from the river of Monterey the bay resembles a round O. All the afternoon we have been watch-

* Still called Point Año Nuevo.

ing to see if the sea was falling so that we might pass by the beach, but no difference has been noticed since morning.

December 10.—Early in the morning the captain sent to find out if the sea allowed room to pass on the beach. Word being brought back that it was just the same as on the preceding day, he decided to cross the arroyo, ascend its steep bank on the other side, follow the road at the foot of the high mountain range as far as it would permit, and afterwards ascend the mountains where they might seem less rugged. He sent four soldiers ahead to explore and let us know at what point we might make the ascent.

We left the camping place at half-past seven, crossed the arroyo, and climbed up the other side, the ascent of which is very steep. We traveled half an hour on the level at the foot of the mountains and met the explorers, who guided us down a declivity to the beach, saying that, having noticed that the sea now gave room to pass at the edge of the water as far as the arroyo, and that the stretch that was lacking was short, they had made a path down the cliff so that we could descend. We came to it, but when I saw it I was frightened, for it seemed to me it ought rather to be called a ladder set up on end than a path. I went down it in great fear and only consoled by the thought that if I should fall from such a height I should alight on sand. We made the descent without accident, and in that

way we were freed from the roughness of the mountains and continued our way by the water's edge.

Shortly before nine we arrived at the Arroyo de la Salud,* so-called since the first expedition because it was here that many soldiers recovered from the scurvy, many of them having already received the last sacraments. They all got wet at this place by means of a shower that fell on them. Just when they were anticipating death, they arose the next morning much improved by the wetting, and in a short time recovered completely, which they attributed to a miracle. In memory of this mercy and in thanksgiving for it we offered a prayer to Nuestra Señora de la Salud.

Afterwards we crossed the arroyo, which empties into the sea, on the sand of which we passed it, and then continued on the road followed by the former expedition, not far from the beach, over the ridges of high hills and down their slopes, which were not hard going because they were pure earth covered with grass. At half-past ten we arrived at the valley which the first expedition called San Pedro de Alcántara. The place is a moderately broad valley with good arable land, and through it run two arroyos with plenty of water, with which the land could easily be irrigated. It has enough timber for buildings and an abundance of firewood, for which reason it seemed to me a good site for a

* Waddell Creek. See Volume II, 205.

mission. Good villages are not lacking in the neighborhood, although in the day's march we have not seen a single heathen; but at every step we have come upon paths well beaten by them which descend from the mountains to the shore. In this valley we found the houses of a village whose people we judged must be at the harvest of acorns.

The two arroyos in this valley, both of which debouch on the beach, are about a quarter of a league apart. To ascend and descend them cost us a great deal of work, for they are so precipitous that we were all compelled to go on foot. These arroyos crossed, we continued in sight of the beach by a wide plain of good land and plentiful pasture, which skirts the hills, although it is not now as level as the palm of the hand. We found in this plain four very deep watercourses which caused us some trouble in crossing them on account of their steep ascents and descents, and in some of them it was necessary to go down on foot, in order not to roll to the bottom where the water runs. At half-past three we halted in the fifth arroyo, which is very wide and has a large volume of water. From it is formed near the shore a large lagoon, on whose bank we stopped, as it had good pasture for the animals and an abundance of firewood for our use.

December 11.—Early in the morning, before daylight, I said Mass, which was attended by everybody, as it was the third Sunday in Advent. At half-past seven we set out from the camp, approach-

ing the shore by the bank of the lagoon, and on the sand of the beach we crossed the arroyo, which enters the sea with a good stream of water. We then continued on our way in sight of the beach by a wide plain which skirts the range of hills, all good arable land with fine pasture. In half an hour we crossed an arroyo of more than two bueys of water which flows with the slope of the land. By means of it it would be easy to water the plain, more than half a league wide, which we passed, and another one as long which reaches from the hills to the cliff on the beach. When the first expedition came this stream was called the arroyo of Santa Cruz.

This crossed, after traveling a short distance we came to the San Lorenzo River,* which is quite large and has a wide bed, the water reaching to the stirrups. The whole bed is well filled with cottonwoods, willows, alders, little poplars, and other trees, and near the ford close to the mountains it has much timber and groves of redwoods.[124] This site is fit not only for a town but even for a city, for nothing necessary is lacking to it. It has good land, water, pasture, firewood, and timber, all at hand and in abundance near the beach of the bay of Monterey, for in fact the settlement could be established a quarter of a league distant from it with all these advantages. Among the trees on this river I saw some small houses of heathen, but they did not permit themselves to be seen.

* Arroyo Santa Cruz and San Lorenzo River still bear the same names.

The river crossed, we continued our journey over some mesas of arable land, drawing away little by little from the beach. In the course of about a league we came to three arroyos, all with plenty of running water and with many trees in their beds, such as cottonwoods, alders, willows, and some live oaks. All these arroyos come from above, so that they could easily be made use of to irrigate the mesas of good land which they cross to empty on the beach. Above the hills the high range continues covered with redwoods.

Before reaching the third arroyo we descried some heathen who did not conceal themselves. As soon as we came near them I called them and gave them some beads, with which they were pleased, and in gratitude they accompanied us and showed us the crossing of the arroyo, the descent and ascent of which were rather precipitous. On the bank of the arroyo we met some more heathen to whom also I made presents of beads. It seemed that they were out hunting,[125] for I saw three more running after a deer. Their village is in the hills, for in them we saw quite a crowd of people.

In a short time after leaving these people behind we came to another arroyo, and in it a village of seven grass houses. All the people hid except one young Indian, and an old woman who received us with cries and a firebrand in her hand. We gave them beads and the old woman responded with the firebrand, which I accepted in order not to offend

her. The young man gave us a handful of acorns, which he said were called *yuves,* the same word that they use at Monterey. As soon as we drew away from the village the people who had hidden in the little houses and in the thick trees of the arroyo came out, and, judging from the number that I saw, it is a medium-sized village.

We continued our way to the southeast by hills and little valleys; their slopes were well covered with live oaks, and in some level places we saw lagoons. We descended afterwards a very high range of hills all covered with redwood trees, very tall, thick, and straight. In a valley, which was very full of these trees, I saw one extremely large one which had its heart burned out, forming a cave, and one of the soldiers, mounted on his horse, rode into it, saying: "Now I have a house in case it rains," and it is true that neither he nor his horse would have been wet however hard it might have rained. In these hills and valleys we saw a grove of chestnuts, but they had been recently burned and had not sprouted again.

On a hill quite apart from the road we saw five heathen standing, armed with their customary weapons of bows and arrows. They were all painted in such a manner that at a distance they appeared to be dressed in striped cloth. When we came opposite them I called to them and they came at once. I gave them some beads and we kept on our way.

These heathen had their village behind the hill on which they were standing, and, according to what the soldiers told me, it is a large village, although I saw no people but those mentioned. We went on among the hills and in a short time came to a large lake which the first expedition called El Corral, because they had stopped there and with some poles nailed together had made an enclosure in the form of a corral in order to keep the animals safe at night. This was a great relief to them because there were so many sick that there were not enough men to guard them, in the four days that they were detained in this place because there were so many seriously ill that they could not go on. In this place the fathers gave the sacraments and holy oil to three, and in the preceding days others had received the sacraments. At that time they called this place Lake of Nuestra Señora del Pilar, but it is known to the soldiers as Laguna del Corral.*

We continued our journey to the southeast and came to a large and spacious plain, all good land and pasture, with some trees. After traveling a league and a half by it we saw not far from the path which we were following a large, dense grove of redwoods. Leaving this to the left we saw in the distance a growth of trees which resembled the bed of a river crossing the great plain, and it was so, for about three in the afternoon when we reached it we found a large river with a great deal of water.

* Portolá in 1769 camped twice at the same spot, in Corralitos Valley, northwest of Watsonville.

We crossed it and halted on its bank in the same place in which the first expedition had stopped five years before, since which time it has been known by the name of Santa Ana River, alias El Pájaro. Near the place where we halted runs another line of trees which ends at the river, and we judged that it must be some arroyo which unites with it. This great plain seemed to all of us to be very suitable for a large mission, with all the advantages of land, water, pasture, firewood, and timber, about a league distant from the beach, and, judging by the many paths that we crossed on the plain, which run to the beach, I do not doubt that there must be many people who could be congregated, in addition to the village near the Lake of Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

December 12.—Before daylight I said Mass to Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, to which all the people listened, and at half-past seven we set out from the camp, taking the road to the southeast. A little after eight we finished crossing the plain and entered by a pass between two high hills, finding on its floor a large lagoon with much tule and crowded with geese. By its bank we entered a little valley among some hills of earth, covered with grass and some medium-sized live oaks. We followed this valley, which soon turns to the southeast, and, descending the hills, we then entered the plain or large valley of Santa Delfina, about ten in the morning. We continued by it and at half-past twelve reached the Monterey River,* which we crossed, and

* The Salinas.

camped on its bank in the same place where we stopped for the night on the twenty-third of last month, when we started from Monterey. One league before reaching the river, near a lagoon, we saw some Indian women gathering seeds, but as soon as they saw us they ran off to hide in the brush, where we judged they were camping, and we saw on the beach a great smoke, which we had begun to notice as soon as we entered the valley.

December 13.—About half-past seven we left the river and took the same road to the presidio that we took on the up trip, over sandy hills and down their slopes in sight of the beach, and in two hours and a half of travel at a good pace we arrived at half-past ten in the morning. I remained at the presidio a little while, and then, after taking leave of the commander, I[126] set out for the mission of San Carlos, accompanied by a soldier, and arrived about eleven. I found there had been no accident to the health of the reverend father president and the father companions, who were delighted at sight of me. But in a short time they joined me in the grief I felt because the exploration of all the surroundings of the estuary of Our Father San Francisco had not been completely successful for the reasons stated above, nor of the large river which empties into it, but we submitted to the will of God, who thus disposed it.

We spent on the journey twenty-one days, during which we traveled only eighty-nine hours; that is,

from the royal presidio to the mouth of the estuary forty-one, and from the mouth back to the presidio forty-eight. By the road over which we went we made a circle.

Among the good places suitable for a mission which we found my attention was attracted especially to six, which were as follows: First, the valley of San Pascual Bailón, in the mouth of the valley of San Benito; second, the plain of the great estuary of San Francisco, where the first cross was placed; third, the valleys of San Pedro Regalado, on the second large arroyo going from Monterey to the mouth of the estuary; fourth, the valley of San Pedro Alcántara; fifth, the San Lorenzo River, near the arroyo of Santa Cruz; sixth, the Santa Ana River, alias El Pájaro. These sites seemed to me the most suitable on account of having everything necessary for a settlement. God grant that in my time they may be settled with missions and all the heathen inhabiting their vicinities congregated, and that not one of them shall die without holy baptism, so that by this means the number of sons of God and his Holy Church and of the vassals of our Catholic monarch will be increased. I thus beg of His Divine Majesty, at this mission of Monterey, December 14, 1774.

Fray Francisco Palóu.

Although his Excellency wrote to me charging me to inform him in detail of everything that might be seen in that exploration, in view of the

fact that this was done because I was at that time substituting in the office of president, it seemed to me that it was not my duty to report to his Excellency, but that of the father president. Accordingly, I delivered the diary to him, so that his Reverence might inform him. He did so, reporting to him and sending the diary by land mail[127] which was going to California and which left the royal presidio on the fourteenth of January, 1775. With the same mail a copy was sent to the reverend father guardian and the venerable Discretory of our College.

CHAPTER III

WHAT HAPPENED ABOUT THE CATTLE THAT WERE TO BE TAKEN FROM THE OLD MISSIONS OF CALIFORNIA FOR THE NEW MISSIONS OF MONTEREY; AND THE DEATH OF THE FRIARS[128]

In Part One of this compilation, chapter thirty-five, it has already been said that, in accordance with the agreement between the reverend father commissary-general of the missions of the Dominican fathers and the guardian of my College of San Fernando, his Excellency ordered that a stock of cattle, sheep, and goats should be taken from the old[129] missions of California for these new missions of Monterey. This order was not put into effect when those missions were delivered, because it was not the proper time, as was alleged by Fray Vicente Mora, the father president of those missionary fathers, but was postponed until the month of October. I had to consent to this delay for the reasons stated in the chapter cited, where also I hint at my suspicions that the order of his Excellency would never be fulfilled.

For that reason, and because I could not remain any longer at those old missions, I left this charge to the father preacher[130] Fray Miguel de la Campa, who was at the mission of Loreto, substituting as president on the part of our College; and I left as his companion the father preacher, Fray Miguel Sánchez, formerly minister of the mission of Santiago de Las Coras. As soon as this friar had delivered the mission to the reverend Dominican fathers, he went by land up to Loreto to join Father Campa, the rest of the missionaries embarking to retire to the College. They all left the Peninsula in perfect health, but two died on the road.

The first to die was the father preacher Fray Juan León de Medina Beitía, of the province of Cantabria, former minister of the mission of San Ignacio. Having arrived at San Blas and found there the China ship, which had reached that port with the major part of its people sick with a pestilence, and seeing that they lacked some one to confess them and administer the holy sacraments, in his apostolic zeal he sacrificed himself for the welfare of the unfortunates. And it seemed that God wished to reward his fervent charity, for he was attacked by the same malady and died at Tepic, where he was buried in the church of the hospice of Santa Cruz of that town. The second was the reverend father preacher Fray Andrés Villaumbrales, former

minister at the mission of Guadalupe, of the province of Concepción. Having assisted in the illness, death, and burial of Father Medina Beitía, while retiring to the College he fell ill at Guadalaxara, died, and was buried in the great convent of Our Father San Francisco. These two made four deaths all told in the missions of the Californias. The other two were Reverend Father Fray Juan Morán, who died at the mission of San José del Cabo, and Reverend Father Fray José de Herrera, who died at the camp of Rosario when he was going up to Los Alamos to embark for California.

Turning again to the matter of the cattle, Father Campa wrote a letter to me from the mission and camp of Loreto under date of the fourth of April, 1774, in which he said he was embarking on the fifth to go to the College to report to the reverend father guardian that there was no way to take up these cattle, for, after waiting at that camp and mission more than ten months after the delivery, he had not been able to bring about the fulfillment of his Excellency's order and the agreement between his Reverence and the father vicar. Indeed, in all that time he had not been able to get anything more than excuses for not carrying out the order, and he had understood that the father president of the Dominicans, together with the governor, Don Felipe Barry, had written to his Excellency that

this removal of cattle ought not to take place. He therefore decided not to lose the opportunity to embark on the ship *Concepción,* which was about to sail.

He said, likewise, that Father Fray Miguel Sánchez was going up to the frontier of San Fernando de Vellicatá to join Father Pedro Cambón, who was detained taking care of the cargoes, which, according to what he had heard in Loreto, were attached, some said by order of the governor and others by the Dominican fathers. He concluded his letter by saying that Father Sánchez would tell me all about it, and that he would write me from Mexico what was done about the cattle. If his letter comes I will insert it farther on in the last Part.

So Father Fray Miguel Sánchez went up by land from Loreto to the frontier at San Fernando de Vellicatá to join Father Fray Pedro Cambón, who was now completing a year of delay at that mission because[131] of the packs. Seeing how uncomfortable he was, and that he would be worse off if both of them stayed, since the packs could not yet be taken up, and that a good opportunity offered of going up with Don José Francisco de Ortega, the new lieutenant, who was going with his family and the rest of the soldiers who had come from Sinaloa, he decided to go, leaving the packs in care of Father Cambón.

He did so, leaving Vellicatá in the afternoon of the twenty-eighth of August, 1774, and arriving in safety at the mission of San Diego on the twenty-sixth of September. From there he wrote of his arrival and told of the excuses about the cattle and the state of the packs, sending all the letters that he had brought with him. They reached this mission of Monterey on the twenty-eighth of October of the same year,[132] and I will extract from them what happened about the packs.

CHAPTER IV

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE PACKS CONTAINING THE UTENSILS, CLOTHING, AND BOOKS OF THE FRIARS OF THE COLLEGE OF SAN FERNANDO WHO LEFT CALIFORNIA

The credit of the friars of my apostolic College of San Fernando who administered the missions of Old California with such disinterestedness during the five years that they were in their charge, has compelled me to leave written some notes very worthy of being forgotten. But since it may be necessary to come out openly, if it be required in defense of the honor of the holy habit, I can do no less than set them down, charging anyone who may read them with the proper secrecy, and to aid us in praying to God for those who persecute and falsely accuse us.

Before going on to write what happened to us on the Peninsula shortly before we left it and after leaving it, I will only make one assertion, namely, that it is not my purpose to censure anyone, but only to tell in these pages what has occurred, so that if some day any person should dare to attempt to impeach the religious conduct of my brothers in the administration of those

missions, they can reply with a statement of the facts, of which I shall make a simple relation, in regard to the embargo of the packs containing the utensils, books, and clothing of the friars who had administered those missions. I shall leave out many other matters, because only this one has reached the state of recourse to the tribunal of his Excellency, but if I should learn about others I would do the same, so that there might be knowledge of what occurred, for natural self-defense.

Patent and notorious was the enmity which the governor of the Peninsula felt for the order of my apostolic College which was administering the missions of California. Of this not only the inhabitants of the Peninsula and of the mainland provinces were witnesses, but also many persons in Mexico, and even his Excellency the Viceroy himself, to whom the governor wrote criminal complaints against the friars. But, thanks to God, the truth was discovered, for the honor of the holy habit and of our apostolic institute.

When the governor was most incensed against the friars, news reached him of the concordat, and that the reverend Dominican fathers were coming to relieve us. His Excellency sent him a copy of the agreement between my College and the father vicar-general of the Dominicans, and in it he read of the free, spontaneous, and complete renunciation made by the reverend

father guardian of my College, with the object of being able better to attend to the new conquests of Monterey. But, as the rest of the people on the Peninsula did not know the facts, he endeavored to make them believe that on account of his reports they were ejecting us from the missions. Even in a letter which he wrote to me when I was absent from Loreto he said the same thing, making it necessary to write to him that if we were leaving the missions it was because we had resigned them.

Not content with this, he attempted to make discord between us and the reverend Dominican fathers who came to receive the missions. For example, when he went aboard before they landed, to welcome them and accompany them to shore, he told them that we had sacked the missions, taking from the churches and sacristies vestments, sacred vessels, and silver ornaments to carry to the new missions. He repeated the same thing to them in his house, adding that he had the inventories by which they were to receive them, and that they would see how many things were lacking from the missions, and that we had these articles that we had stolen boxed up, with the intention of despatching them by sea to the missions of the North, and from there to transport them to San Diego.

Three days after the arrival of the first of the Dominican fathers, seeing that none of them

came as president, he called to his house the two whom he thought might have authority among the ten who had come. One of them was the father lecturer Fray Vicente Mora, who, after the death of the father master Fray Juan Pedro de Iriarte, became president of the reverend Dominican fathers, as has been said in Part One. After they reached his house he told them that he had sent for them in order to consult them in a grave matter of conscience. It was whether he as governor could prevent or interfere with the removal and the embarkation of some loads which I desired to send by ship to the frontier mission of Santa María, with the object of taking them with me to San Diego. He said that since these loads contained vestments, silver ornaments, and other articles belonging to the missions, he had scruples as to whether as governor he ought not to prevent them from being taken away.

To this proposal Father Mora replied that if he knew it for certain and it was absolutely clear to him, he ought to prevent it. As soon as he heard this reply, which was the one that he desired, he said: "Then, fathers, let your Reverences present yourselves before me with a document stating that you are to receive the missions, and you will see what I will do." They immediately perceived his malice, and that he was looking for a chance to cause discord be-

tween the two communities, so they replied that this was not their affair, not only because none of them was head of the missions, but also because they had no knowledge of the matter. They then retired to the monastery.

They reflected upon the action of the governor, and, moved without doubt by their brotherly love as sons of my father Santo Domingo, they reported all the foregoing to me, telling me that they did not believe any of it, and that when, without knowing them, he spoke to them on the bark on that subject, they immediately perceived the great enmity that he had for us, and that now, as brothers they were informing me of it for my guidance.

Although they told me they did not believe anything that the governor had said to them, yet I begged them to listen to me, so that if the governor should happen to speak to them again they would be able to reply. I told them that when our friars received the missions they had made inventories of everything in them, of what pertained to church and sacristy as well as to house and field, and that the inventories were made in duplicate, one set to be sent to our College and the other to remain at the missions, all signed by the soldier commissioners who delivered them and the missionary fathers who received them. I told them that the inventory of each mission was in its archive, and that when

they should be delivered to his Reverence new inventories would be formed and signed by the two fathers, the one receiving and the one delivering; and that by comparing the new inventory with the old it would be seen whether anything was lacking or if anything had been added, and then it would be plain how false were the charges made against us by the governor.

I added that it was true that everything belonging to the two extinguished missions of La Pasión and San Luís Gonzaga, and also some church ornaments of the missions of Loreto and Todos Santos, had gone by sea for the new missions San Carlos de Monterey, San Diego, and San Buenaventura, but that they were sent by the person who had the right, that is, the illustrious Señor Don José de Gálvez, who used the plenary authority that he had from his Excellency to dispose of the vestments and ornaments of the churches of the Jesuit fathers which are within the two bishoprics of Guadalaxara and Durango; and that in virtue of this authority, with the object of saving expense, he ordered that these things, which were considered to be superfluous in those missions, should be sent on to the new missions that were to be founded; but that so far as we were concerned, we would have been better pleased if new vestments had been given us, as is customary with his Majesty in the new foundations.

I told them also that his Illustrious Lordship had charged the reverend father president, when he went to the missions of the north, to set aside everything that he thought would not be missed by the old missions and give it to the new missions, as he did, making an inventory of them and leaving the ministers charged to send them to me at Loreto. To me he wrote that I was to send them by sea to San Diego; but, although the ministers sent me vestments and sacred vessels, they did not go to San Diego but to the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, for when this mission was founded anew the minister found himself without a single vestment, and supplied himself with those of the mission of Santa María, and when their reverences received that mission they received the vestments also.

I showed them the documents, receipts, and orders connected with all the above, which confirmed what I have just said, and with which they were convinced[133] of the falsity of the governor and of his malice, especially when they saw in the instructions of his Excellency the Viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, a document in which he charged the governor that the old missions of California should aid the new ones of Monterey with whatever they had in superabundance. And now how can he censure so and attribute to sacrilegious theft what was done not by us but by the visitor-general?

I told them also that I had received from his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, simultaneously with the order to found five missions in the country between San Fernando de Vellicatá and San Diego, some boxes of sacred vessels and utensils of church and sacristy for those missions, which had come sent by the commissaries of the churches of the three colleges of the expelled Jesuit fathers of Guadalaxara, Guanaxuato, and Zacatecas, all of which I would deliver to their reverences if they would give me a receipt for it; that although up to that time I had not received any order from his Excellency, yet it was enough that in the concordat approved in the royal council by his Excellency, the founding of the five missions ran in charge of their reverences; that they should reflect that those vestments were sent out by order of his Excellency from the churches of the expelled Jesuit fathers; and that his Excellency had the same power to take them from the churches of the old mission for the new.

Rather than have any of those fathers take offense, I told them that the value of it all had been replaced and more, by his Excellency and his Lordship, for they had sent alms of clothing for the Indians which was valued in Mexico at eight thousand, five hundred pesos, which I had received and divided among the missions, and that with this gift the Indians were clothed

better than they ever had been before. Moreover, I added, his Excellency presented to the mission of Loreto, on petition of the visitor-general, a fine set of chasubles and dalmatics, with all the rest. And he left an endowment of two hundred pesos a year to pay for the oil for the lamp of the Most Holy Sacrament and the wax for festivals. And to the mission of Todos Santos he sent without charge a launch, the value[134] of which could not have been less than a thousand pesos. Although I had not yet had a letter saying whether or not it came as alms, I had reason for thinking that it must be in recompense for what his Lordship personally took from the church of that mission for the new establishments of Monterey, and, consequently, that all the above received by the last-named missions was well replaced.

But, nevertheless, I told them that if their Reverences should think otherwise, they might have recourse to his Excellency, for we had nothing whatever to do with this, since it was the same to us whether the missions were supplied from the churches of the Jesuit fathers or from the royal treasury. In fact, it would have pleased us better if the equipment had been from the king and all new, than the way it came, for much of it, nearly all in fact, was old, as they could see, for it was all in boxes and in a separate room ready to be delivered at the proper time.

I also told them that I had in the same room the boxes, bales, and packages of utensils for house and field that I had received from my College, and that had been bought with the alms of five thousand pesos which his Excellency the viceroy, the Marquis de Croix, had ordered given for that purpose to the syndic of the College, which I would also deliver to them, as his Excellency charged me, for the purpose of referring it to the viceroy. Besides this I told them I had in that room separately some more loads of boxes and chests, but that there would not be found in them, as they might see, the smallest thing belonging to the missions of the Californias, for they consisted only of books, clothing, images, and utensils of the individual friars who were returning to the College, and were leaving these things for the new missions of Monterey, for they had been bought with the savings from their salaries of two hundred and seventy-five pesos for each friar of the twenty who had recently come to California for the old missions and the five new ones that were to be founded. They had also acquired some of these things from benefactors who gave them alms of books and utensils of house and field for the missions that were to be founded.

"You will even see," I told them, "that other loads will be made up from what will be left behind by the friars who will retire to the Col-

lege, for most of them will even go without any books, as they have written me, to avoid the freight charges, since they will not lack books at the College. The packs belonging to the mission of Monterey are composed of these things, and your Reverences can see and examine them one by one if you wish."

To this they all replied: "We will do no such thing, for we are well satisfied that they contain nothing but what your Reverence tells us, and it was not even necessary to give us such an explanation." My rejoinder was that I had explained myself so that their Reverences, being informed, would not give ear to the governor, who intended nothing but to cause discord between the two communities and to prevent the delivery from being made to us in peace.

"We have seen this to be the case," they replied, "but your Reverence may rest assured that he will not succeed, for we are warned and have discovered his intention."

I could not learn whether or not news of this communication reached the ears of the governor, but I do not doubt that the fathers would be convinced, and that in case he again touched upon the subject they would not fail to persuade him to the contrary with the arguments which I laid before them. What I did learn shortly afterward was that he had made diligent efforts, through the medium of two soldiers in his con-

fidence, to find out what these loads contained, and if any ornaments or vestments had again been taken from the mission.

One of the soldiers, being in the confidence of one of the servants of the mission, his compadre, who had made up and tied the packs for Monterey, asked him what vestments, silver ornaments, and other things belonging to the missions he had boxed up for the fathers to take to Monterey. To this he replied that there were none; that the packs were made up of books, clothing and various trifles belonging to the fathers, which had been brought from Mexico by those who were now returning, as well as by those who were to go to the new missions, but that he had not seen a thing in those packs that could belong to the missions of California.

The soldier then told him that he knew for certain that he had boxed up vestments, chalices, thuribles, and other church things. The servant replied that this was true, but that they were not to take to Monterey, but to deliver to the Dominican fathers, for they were the vestments which the viceroy had sent for the five missions that were to be founded, and that he had heard the fathers say that they were to be delivered immediately after the transfer of the missions, and for that reason the father did not wish them to go out or to be nailed up, for he said he had to deliver it all piece by piece with the list that

had come with it; and he even ordered the white clothing, albs, altar cloths, etc., that had come from Mexico very dirty, to be washed, mended, starched, and ironed, at which Señora Angela, the wife of the soldier Ochoa, and some Indian women worked in order to turn it over all neat and clean.

The soldier continued, "This is what I can tell you in all truth, and these packs are in a room, together with others which contain many other things which came from Mexico, and which I also heard the fathers say are to be delivered to the Dominicans, although I do not know what they contain, for they are just as they were when they came on the bark *San Carlos*. But the packs for Monterey are separate, in the corner room. They have passed through my hands, and they contain what I have told you, and none of the things which you mention. And there are still more packs being made up of what the fathers who are going to Mexico are leaving behind, for they are all leaving books, clothing, and other little things for the missions of Monterey, but it is only what they brought when they came."

I have no doubt the soldier gave this report to the governor, who had sent him on the errand. But, not content with it, he made use of a new scheme to bear out the false accusation that he had raised against us with the Dominican fathers. This was that the soldier most in his

confidence in Loreto, named José Velázquez, called to his house some Indian muleteers from the mission of San José Cumundú, who had brought the things belonging to the first friars who left California shortly after the arrival of the first Dominicans. After assuring them that they need fear nothing, and that if they told the truth they would be heeded by the governor, but if not they would be severely punished, he asked them what vestments the father at San José had taken out and carried[135] to Mexico.

"Now, tell the truth," he said, "for everything is known, because two Indians from San Xavier have told about it."

They replied that they knew no such thing; that what they had brought when the father came consisted of some little articles and a bed, for him as well as for the rest who had gone down to San José from the other missions, and food for the voyage on the bark. He threatened them with punishment for hiding the truth, as a partisan of the fathers, to which they replied that no matter what might be done to them, they could tell no more than what they had said. "If they took vestments or anything that you say, you can find it out by looking to see if anything is missing."

To this Velázquez replied: "Yes, it will be investigated, and you will be punished for not having told about it." With this he sent them away.

As soon as these muleteers arrived at their mission of San José they informed the missionary father of it, and in his presence and that of the Dominican friars who had been at that mission since they landed, they told what had passed between them and the soldier Velázquez, of which they immediately informed me. All these occurrences took place between the middle of October, 1772, when the first ten Dominican fathers landed at Loreto, and the latter part of November.

Early in December Fathers Fray Fernando Parrón and Fray Manuel Lago being ready to embark, I sent a note to the governor stating that these fathers were leaving the College with the object of going on the *Concepción,* which[136] was about to sail; that they were the only ones whom I had been able to notify; that if I had been informed of the sailing of the bark sooner others would have come; and that I would be indebted to him if he or some one whom he could trust would examine the things the fathers were taking. I added that the cause of this request was my having learned of the secret attempts made by the soldier, Velázquez, to find out from the Indians of San José what vestments and ornaments of the church were being taken to Mexico by Father Fray Vicente Imas; and that at the proper time I would ask in justice for the investigation and punishment of the false accusation that they had raised against us.

In a quarter of an hour after I sent the governor my letter I received his reply written at the foot of it, saying that if the matter concerned royal property he would know what to do, but that the examining of the packs was the duty of the Dominicans who were to receive the missions, and that in the point made about the soldier Velázquez it was clear to him that they were raising a false accusation against him; but as to taking legal steps for his investigation and punishment, he would do it if his Excellency should order it. Signing the reply he sent it to me.

In view of this, as there were in Loreto only three Dominican priests and one lay brother, I sent the paper to them with the reply of the governor, begging them to do me the favor to examine the little articles belonging to the two friars who were going, and to declare at the foot of my letter whether they contained anything belonging to the missions, since it was known to them that the governor had said to them, both on the bark before they came ashore and in his house on two separate occasions, that we had sacked the missions and taken away vestments and sacred vessels; and, since he said, as they would see in his note, that it was the duty of their Reverences to make the examination, I would be obliged to them if they would do it, as it was necessary for the credit of our holy habit.

Together with the paper I put before them the packs which the fathers were taking.

They felt hurt because I showed them the packs, and refused to look at them, telling me that they would reply. This they did, writing at the foot of my letter a certification in which they declared that it was true that the governor had told them on the three occasions which I cited that we had extracted vestments and silver ornaments from the churches of the missions; but that it was plain to them that this was a false accusation by the governor, for nothing was missing from the old missions, and what belonged to the new ones was separate, ready for delivery at the same time as the missions; and that the packs belonging to the friars who were going contained nothing but the beds, clothing, and poor utensils for their use. To this they certified, saying that if necessary they would make oath to it *in verbo sacerdotis.* The certification was signed by the three reverend fathers, Fray Vicente Mora, Fray José Ibar, and Fray José Esteves.

Having made this certification, the two fathers mentioned departed.* I then wrote to the reverend father guardian of the College what was happening and begged him to present this certification before his Excellency, with the object of securing an order from the viceroy to the effect that the governor should not interfere

* Fathers Parrón and Lago. See p. 328.

with the removal of those packs. But the father guardian thought that this was not necessary, since the governor had said in his letter that it did not concern him, but the reverend fathers who were to receive the missions; and as they were satisfied, as they stated in the certification, he concluded, with reason, that there was nothing to prevent the removal and transportation of the loads to San Diego. And although in the certification of the fathers the falsity of the accusation raised by the governor against us was stated and proved, the father guardian did not wish to appear or to petition against him, but wished to pardon him as God orders, and to forget the injury, since he was about to leave California,* and, consequently, its governorship.

But, lest it might happen that the governor should carry out his threat not to permit the packs to go out of California, the reverend father Fray Junípero Serra, president of the missions of Monterey, in the memorial which he presented to his Excellency on the thirteenth of March, 1773, among the petitions that he made, makes note of the packs in the fourth point, with these words:

"Certain pious persons of Tepic, Compostela, and their vicinities, having heard of the privations from which we had suffered there, promised me that on my return there they would give me some alms of corn and other food for us and the new Chris-

* That is, Lower California.

tians, and I beg your Excellency to please give your order to the commissary of San Blas to receive on the bark whatever I may collect in alms, making as many examinations as he wishes, and stating in the invoices that it belongs to the missions privately, and is not subject to the officer of the presidio.

"And I may say the same thing in regard to some packs that are detained in Loreto, composed of books, images, crucifixes for preaching, and other ornaments and utensils which were for the personal use of the friars of our College who have left and are to leave the old missions of California, and who, considering the cost of the transportation, and that they are coming to Mexico, where they will lack nothing, have donated them to the new missions where everything is lacking.

"The reverend Dominican fathers have now seen them inside and outside, in doing which they have had ocular evidence with what little foundation the governor, Don Felipe Barry, spoke when he said that they were all ornaments stolen from the missions. If these packs, then, cannot be taken by land to San Diego, your Excellency may order the governor to send them by ship to the port of San Blas, and may order the commissary there to put them on the bark that may be sailing for Monterey, with the same statement in the invoices that they belong privately to the missions."

To this point the royal council replied and his Excellency concurred, in these words:

"In regard to the fourth point, that the commissary of San Blas shall receive on the bark, whenever there is one, and with all the examinations that he may desire, the consignment of alms of corn and other provisions promised to Father Serra for the missionary fathers, with a statement in the invoices that it belongs exclusively to them and is not subject to the officer of the presidio; and in regard to the packs that are detained in Loreto, composed of books, images, and other ornaments and utensils; let the governor of California be warned not to prevent, but rather to facilitate, their despatch to the missions."

This resolution of the council of war and royal exchequer was approved by his Excellency in his decree of the twelfth of May, 1773; and he sent the corresponding orders to the governor of California or commander of Monterey, and to the royal commissary of the port of San Blas. At the same time and in the same days when his Excellency issued this decree, the rest of the Dominicans arrived at Loreto, bringing the patent of president of all of them for the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora, and they landed on the twelfth of May of the same year, the same day on which his Excellency signed in Mexico the resolution of the royal council in regard to the above-mentioned packs or bales.

We then went on with the delivery of the mission of Loreto and the despatching of the

rest of the Dominican missionaries to the missions to which they were assigned. As soon as I had finished the delivery of the mission of Loreto, I sent a note to the governor telling him that I had a number of bales for the new missions of Monterey, and that I would thank him for his aid in transporting them. Accordingly I begged him for a launch for the purpose of taking them by sea as far as the bay of San Luís, and I told him that although on the frontier at Vellicatá there were some mules, muleteers, and soldiers sent by the commander of Monterey, I judged they would not be sufficient to transport the six missionaries and all the packs, and therefore in case he could help me in any way I would esteem it as a favor if he would do so.

As soon as he received my note he replied to me very politely that the little sloop named *Nuestra Señora del Pilar* was at my disposal, and he sent me an open letter for the sergeant, Don José Francisco de Ortega, who was at Santa María in command of the guard of the frontier, ordering him to accompany us, with fourteen soldiers as escort, to San Diego, and telling him that for the transportation of the missionaries, as well as of the loads that we were taking, all the mules on the frontier should be collected, so that, together with those that had come down from Monterey, they should go up on this journey. At the same time he gave orders that we

should be given all the provisions that we asked, for ourselves as well as for our soldiers, muleteers, and the Indian families who might be going from the old missions to the new ones of Monterey.

In consequence of this decision I placed on the sloop all the packs that I had at Loreto, and completed the cargo with corn and beans for the frontier. There was not the slightest objection to embarking all the packs, by either the governor or the fathers, though they were taken from the College to the beach in plain sight, and were carried on board, always in plain sight; and I charged Father Fray Miguel de la Campa to follow the same procedure, so that at the slightest hint the bales could be opened one by one and examined, a certificate of what they contained to be asked for.

But they gave no reason for such a request, and so they were shipped. I, too, embarked, leaving Loreto on the twenty-fourth of May of the same year, and in a month I reached the mission of Santa María, where I found the packs already there. While awaiting the arrival of the rest of the friars who were to go up with me to San Diego, I received letters from Loreto in which they told me that the packet *San Carlos* had arrived at Puerto Escondido loaded with provisions, and that it had sailed from San Blas destined for San Diego; but, having broken the

rudder, and there being no means in Loreto of repairing it, its captain, Don Juan Pérez, had decided to leave the cargo and return to San Blas. In consequence of this news and of that which I had just received from Monterey and the new missions regarding the scarcity of provisions from which they were suffering, I decided to leave the packs at the mission[137] of Vellicatá, in charge of the father preacher Fray Pedro Cambón, and to load all the mules of the new missions which they had sent and those of the royal service of both departments, Monterey as well as the old missions, which the governor lent us for carrying the bales, as has already been said.

I wrote to the governor a report of everything, and of the decision which I had made in view of the accident to the packet *San Carlos,* and the privation from which the new establishments of San Diego and Monterey were suffering, saying that I considered food to be more necessary than the utensils of the friars, and that consequently all the loads that were composed of the latter I was leaving at the frontier of Vellicatá in care of Father Fray Pedro Cambón, who remained with the object of conducting them as soon as the mules should return.

I told him that they would be delayed only as long as it would take to return from San Diego, and that I would do everything possible to add

to the pack train all the mules that could be collected, from the missions as well as from the royal service, so that the packs of the missionaries, as well as some further supply of corn and beans, could go up to San Diego. I begged him, as soon as he should receive my letter, to give the appropriate orders to the frontier of Vellicatá, so that there would be no delay in the pack train, but that they should deliver the provisions for the mules that might not be necessary for the loads, and all those that might be lent from the royal service of the department of California.

In consequence of this decision we set out from the frontier of Vellicatá with no loads except packs of provisions and the most necessary clothing for us six friars who were going up, leaving all the rest to the care of Father Cambón. As soon as I arrived at San Diego, they assembled all the mules that could be collected from the presidio and missions, which numbered, besides the saddle animals for soldiers and muleteers, fifty-nine pack mules harnessed and provided with everything. With these, together with twenty-three pack mules which had been lent us for the journey by the governor from those belonging to California, they formed a pack train of eighty-two equipped mules, with which they could have transported all the loads and a good portion of corn for the succor of the new establishments. So I hoped,

but my hopes were frustrated, and it turned out as I never thought it would, as I am now going to relate.

As soon as the governor received the letter in which I told him I was leaving the loads of the missionaries for the good reasons that I have already stated, and that the mules would return for them and a further supply of corn, he sent an order in all haste to Sergeant Pedro Amador, who was in charge of the frontier of Vellicatá, commanding him, as soon as the mules should arrive from San Diego and Monterey, to put an embargo on them, whether they belonged to the royal service or to the new missions, and to load them with any corn that might have arrived from the bay of San Luís, but by no manner of means to allow the smallest part of the packs left by the fathers of San Fernando to be taken from the frontier.

In obedience to this order, as soon as the pack train arrived at Vellicatá the sergeant laid an embargo on it, and with it carried all the corn and beans from the bay of San Luís to Vellicatá, and afterwards from Vellicatá to San Diego, without any attention being paid to the written petition of Father Fray Pedro Cambón, in which he begged, since the greater part of the mules belonged to the new missions, and there were not full loads for them all, that he might be permitted at least to send a box of chocolate and

a change of clothing for the six friars who had just gone up to San Diego, and who, in the belief that they would soon return for the loads, had taken only what was absolutely necessary for the journey. Indeed, it was known to him that they had not even a cake of chocolate. But the petition had no result, for the sergeant replied that he had orders not to allow the smallest part of the packs belonging to the Fernandine fathers to be taken. And so he despatched to San Diego the mules that had gone from the presidio and missions, without lending even one of those from California, and the provisions were so short that the share of each mission did not come to five bushels, counting both corn and beans. This succor arrived at San Diego in the middle of December, and the letters bringing the news reached Monterey on the last day of that month.

Although Father Cambón wrote to me from Vellicatá that on account of the action of the sergeant and of his reply in writing, he inferred that the loads were embargoed; and although the soldiers reported the same thing, I could not believe it, thinking that the governor had in view the relief of these new establishments, considering their need, and the fact that the *San Carlos* had gone to stop at Loreto, so that if there should be any delay they could not charge it to any omission on his part. But, on seeing that some of the mules arrived without loads, and that not

one had been lent to send more provisions, I was ready to believe that the soldiers were right when they said the packs were embargoed.

I was soon relieved of all doubt by a letter which Father Fray Miguel de la Campa wrote me on the fifteenth of November, of the same year 1773, in which he told me he had been assured that when Governor Don Felipe Barry was at the mission of Purísima de Cadegomó with the reverend father president, Fray Vicente Mora, he despatched an order to the sergeant of the frontier of Vellicatá, commanding him not to allow the smallest part of the loads belonging to the Fernandine fathers to be taken away. The person who told him this added that he had heard the governor say it, and that he said he had sent this order on petition of Father Mora, whose original letter he was keeping; and that this father, fearing that Father Campa might learn of it, told him that the governor had sent the order from Purísima, and that he himself had made every effort possible to restrain him, but, seeing him so determined, in order not to break harmonious relations he had consented, but in word only, and if he should deny it he would show him the letter, and they would go and examine the loads, although with the agreement between the two to go alone and in secret. To this gratuitous excuse Father Campa replied:

"This examination they could have made a year ago when you were both asked in writing to make it, and in this way you would have satisfied your desire to know what the packages contain, for it is known to you from the inventories that nothing is missing from the missions which you have received, and that whatever equipment for church and sacristy is lacking was taken out by the visitor-general, and for house and field by Señor Don Fernando de Rivera, as is evident from the receipts written in 1768 and 1769. And all the foregoing that is listed in the receipts has been in the new missions for four years, and so it would be vain to look for it in these packs. And what was taken from the missions of the North is now in the new mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, for all of which I gave a receipt when I received it in that mission, and your Reverence has received everything, as you know. And so why these scandals to the poor people who are ignorant of the facts? What opinion are they to form of the fathers of San Fernando?"

Father Mora replied to Father Campa, but it was with the same excuse, that he had asked for nothing, and if this was not believed, let the governor show the petition which said that he had done nothing more than what has been stated, in order not to break with the gentleman, and for this same reason he was perfectly certain there was nothing of what the governor claimed

in the packs. He had told him that together they would examine them, so that that gentleman might be undeceived, and if he had had the slightest suspicion to the contrary it is certain that he would not have agreed to it, so that it might not result to the dishonor of the holy habit. He said this as though it was necessary to satisfy the governor, because there would be no other way to get along.

That it was not necessary to satisfy him, or even the Dominican fathers, is clear, for the decree of his Excellency says "the missions shall be delivered to them, and as soon as they are delivered he shall ask them for a receipt, without giving them any account of what has been consumed, spent, or taken out." Indeed, his Excellency could not be ignorant of the instructions left by the visitor-general after he went away from the old missions, which he drew up for the new ones, for in one of his instructions he charges the missionaries of the old ones to help in every way possible. And his Excellency gave the same charge to Governor Don Felipe Barry in one of the instructions issued to him when he conferred the governorship upon him. But none of these was sufficient to restrain that gentleman, and so by his order the packs were detained on the frontier and we lost the use of them and suffered privations until the frigate came with[138] succor, many months passing without our having

a cake of chocolate or clothing for a change, or other necessities that I omit.

In view of all this they wrote to me and told me to inform the fathers of San Diego to postpone sending the mules to Vellicatá for the purpose of bringing the loads until further orders from me, and to await some report from Mexico or California as to whether the embargo had been raised yet; and to write at the same time to Father Cambón that in case they should go to examine the loads not to resist, but to examine them bale by bale and form an inventory of what each contained, with its mark and number; and when the examination was finished to ask for a certification of it and a copy of the inventory, signed by those who made the examination, and to ask whether they could go for them; and if they replied in the affirmative to inform me of it; but if the reply were negative to ask in writing that the bales should be put in storage, and then to come to San Diego, for by this arrangement they would be safe, with everything they contained.

The matter of the packs was in this state when the reverend father Fray Junípero Serra arrived at Monterey, which was on the 11th of May, 1774. Shortly before this, mail had arrived from California, and by it Father Cambón had written that the loads were still attached, but that no one had appeared for the

requested examination. Father Serra then went on with this business, sending a letter to the new commander of these presidios, Don Fernando Rivera y Moncada, asking him for aid with mules, soldiers, and muleteers, so that they might go and bring those loads, reminding him of what was decided by his Excellency in the council of war.

To this Rivera responded that he was ready to give all that was asked for, but, in order that there might be no delay and the journey not wasted, he thought it best to send to Governor Don Felipe Barry the letter of the father president and his reply, with a literal copy of the decision of the council of war and royal exchequer, confirmed by his Excellency, on the twelfth of May, 1773, which says: "The governor of California not only shall not prevent those loads from going, but shall aid, facilitate, etc."

The commander concludes by begging the governor to tell him if there were any obstacle to sending for those loads, and on the supposition that there is not, he is now writing to his lieutenant, Don José Francisco de Ortega, who is on the frontier for the purpose of coming with the families from Sinaloa, telling him, if there are some extra mules and there is no order to the contrary, to bring some of the loads of utensils for the friars of San Fernando, and that they would afterwards go to bring the remainder.

He sent these letters by mail before the mules started, with the object of having the reply in Vellicatá before the lieutenant should leave.

By the same mail I wrote to Father Cambón, giving him a report of everything, and telling him that if by chance the embargo had been lifted and there were some extra mules among those that were going on the journey of the lieutenant and the families, he should send some of the loads for those particular friars who needed them most.

At the same time the father president wrote to the two Dominican friars thanking them for the charity they had shown toward Father Cambón by keeping him so long in their mission, and hoping that they would continue to do the same until such time as the attached loads could be taken up, which would not be long, for his Excellency had ordered in the council of war and royal exchequer not only that the governor should not prevent the sending of the loads, but should facilitate it. He adds that he realizes the poverty of that mission, but that any expense that may have been occasioned by that friar and the others who have passed through will be paid in Mexico by our brother syndic to the father procurator of those missions.

He also wrote to the father president of the reverend Dominican fathers, saying that he had heard that Father Fray Miguel de la Campa had

embarked at Loreto to go to Mexico, and that since he had had no letter from that father he desired to learn whether he had left for him any information about thirty cows with their calves which he had bought for these new missions from a citizen of Southern California, and fifteen horses which had been bought from the estates of Don Gaspar Sizón.[139] They had been paid for by the syndic, Don Miguel García Morales, together with many others which had been taken from the royal warehouse of Loreto, for which he received a warrant from Father Fray Francisco Palóu, former president of those missions. Part of this, amounting to eight hundred pesos, the father president, Fray Junípero, had caused to be paid to him in Guadalaxara by the syndic of that city, the agreement being that when he reached Mexico he would receive the remainder of the value of that warrant. And Father Serra begged that, if he knew where those cows and mares were, he be informed. He concluded by thanking him for the charity which they had shown toward the fathers of our College who had been detained on the Peninsula, and especially Father Cambón, in the frontier mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, because of the detention[140] and the embargo of the loads, and saying that he hoped that they would continue to show the same charity toward the father until God might be pleased that the embargo of the loads should be

raised, repeating to him the same as to the fathers of Vellicatá, that the expense caused would be paid in Mexico.

The courier arrived at Vellicatá on the sixteenth of July, and, leaving the letters that pertained to the frontier, he went with the rest to Loreto, where also arrived the mules for the families which the lieutenant was getting ready for the journey. Seeing that the reply of the governor was delayed, and even thinking that he might perhaps reply to the commander of Monterey without sending any word at all to the frontier, in order not to lose the opportunity of sending a load or two, since three mules had no loads, Father Cambón decided to act on the advice which had been sent him to make a statement in writing to the person who was in command of the escort. He did so in the following letter, and sent me a copy[141] of the correspondence.

LETTER

Señor Alférez Don José Velázquez: By the soldier courier, Miguel de Islas, who arrived at this mission on the sixteenth of July of this present year, the reverend father president of those missions sent me some mules for the purpose of sending on them a few of the packs which have been detained and attached in this mission by order of the governor, Don Felipe Barry, issued at the

mission of Purísima, in the month of October of last year, as the apostolic father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa advised me in that year. And presuming, as I must presume, that the decision in regard to this matter came on the *San Carlos,* I beg you, since you are in charge of this frontier, to be pleased to tell me whether I may take them out or not, so that with your reply I may take the measures which my father president advised me to take.

May God spare you for many years. San Fernando de Vellicatá, August 13, 1774.

Fray Pedro Benito Cambón.

Reply

Very Reverend Father Fray Benito Cambón:

My dear Sir: Having read the letter which I just received from your Reverence, and learned its contents, I will say that I have not nor have I ever had any order to attach these loads; and if I had had it I would have sent it to your Reverence with the proper attention. As to the point that your Reverence makes that the order came to me from the mission of Purísima, permit me to say that the information that they gave to the reverend Father Fray Miguel de la Campa is very false. In proof of what I say, I am enclosing for your Reverence the letter which Governor Don Felipe Barry wrote to me from that mission, which is the only one I have received.

Frontier of San Fernando, August 13, 1774.[142] May our Lord spare the life of your Reverence many years. Very reverend father, your most humble servant kisses the hands of your Reverence.

José Velázquez.

Another Letter

Señor Alférez Don José Velázquez:

My dear Sir: I have just received your very courteous letter, with that of the governor enclosed, which I return with the thanks I owe you for your confidence. But I regret that although I begged you to please tell me whether or not I might despatch the most necessary of these loads, the delay of which leaves in the greatest need my poor friars of the College of San Fernando de Mexico who are in the new missions of Monterey, you do not say anything in regard to this matter, which is the principal question that compels me to impose on your attention.

The order of embargo which I quoted to you was given to Sergeant Amador, who at that time was in charge of this frontier, and I do not doubt that he made you officially acquainted with it when, with this escort and the royal effects, he delivered the orders to you which he brought for your success in your government. Finally, permit me again to beg that you will do me the favor to tell me if, by

seizing the opportunity of the journey of the families, I may send some loads.

Our Lord, etc. Frontier of San Fernando de Vellicatá, August 13, 1774. Yours, etc.

Fray Pedro Cambón.

Reply

Very Reverend Father Fray Benito Cambón:

My dear Sir: I have carefully read the second letter which your Reverence has sent me, and I beg you to pardon me for not replying to the point on which your Reverence writes to me a second time. But I was convinced that your Reverence, in your wise discretion, would understand that unless I had such an order I had no right to interfere in the matter of whether the loads shall go or shall not go, and in view of this your Reverence will see that I have nothing more to say. As to what your Reverence tells me about Amador, I can say with all truth that he left me no official paper, much less such an order, and if he had left it with me I should have been guilty of lying.

Frontier of San Fernando de Vellicatá, August 13, 1774. Very reverend father, I kiss the hands of your Reverence. Your humble servant,

José Velázquez.

A Paper which he sent to the Lieutenant

Lieutenant Don José Francisco Ortega:

My dear Sir: By the soldier Islas I received an order from my reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, to send a petition to the Señor Alférez, Don José Velázquez, who is now in charge of this frontier, with the object of asking his Grace to be pleased to tell me whether or not I might send some chests or boxes in which were contained principally utensils belonging to some of the friars, the lack of which places them in the greatest need, and for which purpose my reverend father president sends me a few mules. I sent this letter on the thirteenth day of the present month, and the alférez was good enough to send me the reply which you will see in the enclosed papers which I am forwarding to you.

As it appears by these papers which I cite that there is no order to the contrary, and that in view of this he ought not to interfere in the question whether or not these loads shall go out, I beg that you will please permit the father preacher Fray Miguel Sánchez, who has the happiness to accompany you to those new establishments, to take these few loads. And so that you may not at any time be held responsible before the superior government, I have thought it necessary to put before you a decree of the viceroy issued in full council of war and

royal exchequer held on the twelfth of May of the past year, when the loads were still at Loreto. This decree was sent by his Excellency to the governor of California, Don Felipe Barry, and among other clauses it says the following: "And in the matter of the bales which are detained in Loreto, composed of books, images, crucifixes, and other ornaments and utensils, let the governor of California be ordered not to prevent, but rather to facilitate their despatch to the missions."

In view of all this which I present before you, I do not doubt that you will be pleased to assist me in what I justly ask for, for by doing so I am sure that you will give due fulfillment to the orders of the superior government.

May God keep you for many years. San Fernando Vellicatá, August 20, 1774. I kiss your hand. Your most attentive chaplain and servant.

Fray Pedro Benito Cambón.

CHAPTER V

STEPS TAKEN BY THE LIEUTENANT TO PREVENT HIMSELF FROM BEING CHARGED WITH HAVING TAKEN OUT THE PACKS WHICH WERE UNDER EMBARGO UNTIL HE KNEW WHETHER THE EMBARGO HAD BEEN LIFTED

Don José Francisco de Ortega, lieutenant-captain of the Leather-jacket Company of the new presidios of Monterey and San Diego for his Majesty, whom God save: The document presented by the Reverend Father Fray Pedro Benito Cambón, apostolic missionary for the propagation of the Faith, has been examined by me, and I am convinced of its truth in view of its contents as well as of the decree issued on the 12th of May by his Excellency the Viceroy in the royal council of war and exchequer, and also because there are no orders to the contrary on the part of the government of this Peninsula, as is explained by Alférez Don José Velázquez, in the replies that are presented to me; for I see that in one of them this gentleman says that he does not interfere and ought not to interfere in the question as to whether or not those packs shall go, which proves that there is no superior order to the contrary; for, being in charge of this frontier, he would naturally have such an order if there were one.

Nevertheless, I think it best to send to the alférez official notice of this petition, properly authenticated, so that he may at once reply in legal form whether he has had, directly or indirectly, any order to the contrary; for as soon as it is ratified by his signature as the word of honor demands, I am ready to furnish the assistance that is asked of me by the reverend father president, providing the necessary escort, both for the Reverend Father Fray Miguel Sánchez, and for these and other packs which may belong to that department to which I am going, in the knowledge that by so doing I shall render service to both Majesties—to God, by coöperating to improve the welfare of souls, and to the king by giving evidence of his pious zeal and generosity in liberally opening his royal treasury, and giving the royal and necessary orders for the good of his new and glorious conquest.

I so decreed, ordered, and signed before two witnesses, Manuel Bernal and Juan de Ortega, soldiers of my company, who do not sign because they do not know how. I do it on this common paper, by military authority and because there is no stamped paper here, much less any royal clerk, as is prescribed by law.

Mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, August 23, 1774. I have given my oath.

Francisco José de Ortega.

Reply

Don José Velázquez, alférez of the military company of the department of the Californias for his Majesty, whom God save. To-day between nine and ten, Lieutenant Don José Francisco de Ortega, who goes assigned to the new establishments of Monterey and San Diego, passed by. He came, as I have said, with two soldiers as guard, Manuel Bernal and Juan de Ortega, belonging to his jurisdiction, telling me that he brought them as witnesses. He showed me the petition that was made to him by Father Fray Pedro Benito Cambón, apostolic missionary, in which he quotes two replies which I gave to that father on the thirteenth of the current month. The lieutenant asks, by right of his office, that at the foot of this reply I shall answer categorically whether I have a direct or indirect order to the contrary, and I say again for the third time that I have no order to prevent taking out those packs. Consequently, so far as I am concerned, the lieutenant may in all security give the aid asked for by the father, for in so far as it concerns the rights of my jurisdiction on this frontier there will be no objection.

And because this is true I sign it on the said day, month, and year, with witnesses present.

José Velázquez.

Witness, Gabriel de Arce. Witness, José Ramon Noriega. Moreover, let me be given a certified copy of this document as well as of its authentication and my reply.—Vale.

According to a letter from Father Campa it was necessary to go through all these proceedings, because it was known that six orders had come from the governor to stop these packs from going. But in view of what the alférez now writes, without doubt he must have had a new order not to stop them, and also to say that he had received no such order.

Still another difficulty came up in the way of taking out those packs. This was with the father ministers of Vellicatá, Fray Miguel Hidalgo and Fray Pedro Gandiaga, for the principal one of the missionaries had three orders from his father president, Fray Vicente Mora, in which he commanded him, under order of secrecy, by no manner of means to permit Father Cambón to take away one thread from the packs that were detained, and in case it should be attempted, to ask in legal form for the aid of the troops. The father ministers,[143] seeing that the alférez replied with his documents what has already been set forth, and that the lieutenant was given his aid to carry away the packs, Father Hidalgo, who was the only one at the mission, and to whom the three orders had come directly from his president, Fray Vicente Mora, confused and not knowing what to do in order not to fail in obedience to his prelate, explained himself to Father Cambón, to see if he would postpone taking any part of those packs, and would wait a little

longer to give time for his prelate to revoke the order, as the governor had done on his part by writing to the alférez not to prevent the despatch of the packs.

Matters being in this state, the courier from the governor arrived at the frontier, and by this same person Father Hidalgo received a package from his president with two enclosed letters, one for the commander of Monterey, Don Fernando Rivera, and another for the father president, Fray Junípero Serra. He writes to him about other matters but says nothing at all about the packs, although he writes the following clause: "Father Junípero writes me to ask if I will please permit Father Cambón to remain at that mission. I am now telling him that there is no objection on my part, and I presume that there will be none on the part of your Reverence."

This letter arrived with the mail by land on the 23d day of August. Father Hidalgo was confounded by it, seeing that he did not speak of the packs, but wrote to him in regard to the detention of Father Cambón, and so far from revoking the order, gave it to be understood that the embargo was still in force, for he made it clear that the detention of Father Cambón, who had been there a full year solely on account of the packs, was to continue. The Dominican father felt this very much, for he was unable to decide what he ought to do in

order not to fail in obedience to his prelate and yet allow as many as possible of the most necessary packs to go up. But a way was opened for him by a letter which the alférez received in the same mail from his governor, in which he enclosed a note for the commander at Monterey. The governor writes to his alférez about the detained packs in these words:[144]

"In regard to the matter of those packs about which I have written, you must not mix in it or interfere, nor must any of the troops, to prevent them from going out, for it is a private matter between those fathers."

The alférez read this clause from his governor's letter to Fathers Hidalgo and Cambón. As soon as the former read it he said: "According to this, if I ask you for aid to prevent those packs from going you will not give it to me?" "No, father, I cannot give it to you, for your Reverence now sees the order that I have."

The father replied: "And will you give me a certification, to satisfy my prelate?"

"Yes, father," replied the alférez. He then gave him the certification, declaring in it that he had an order from his governor not to give any aid in detaining the packs, even though the missionary fathers of Vellicatá should ask it.

Father Hidalgo was now satisfied and said to Father Cambón, "Would to God that all the packs might be taken at once!" He added that

he greatly regretted what had occurred, and charged the reverend father president to send the mules as soon as possible to take all the packs, saying that as far as he was concerned they would not be detained a moment; on the contrary, he would aid by lending the mules from his mission to transport them as far as Viñaraco.

As some mules were necessary for Father Sánchez, who was going up with the lieutenant and soldiers, to carry his clothing and provisions, only three extras were to be had, but with these they took up three loads with some clothing and the most necessary utensils for us friars who had gone up from California, the rest all remaining at Vellicatá in care of Father Cambón. Father Sánchez arrived at San Diego with the lieutenant and soldiers on the twenty-sixth of August, and the father and the lieutenant remained in San Diego. The families came up to the royal presidio of Monterey, where they arrived on the twenty-eighth of October,[145] and through them were received the loads and all the information set down here and copied from the letters of Father Cambón written from the frontier of Vellicatá and dated the 28th and 30th of August, 1774.

The commander of Monterey, Don Fernando de Rivera, received on this occasion a letter from the governor of California on the subject of the

packs. In it, as has been said, he enclosed the document which the reverend father president of these missions had sent to him, begging him for aid and escorts, and requesting a reply in obedience to what was ordered by his Excellency in the council of war and royal exchequer, transcribing for him that order and decision, but saying, nevertheless, that he desired that his Lordship should tell him if there were any objection to sending up those packs. To this the governor replied, at the bottom of the same document, saying that this matter ought not to go to him, but to the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora, president of those missions of California, to which it belonged. The governor adds that it is a fact that in the month of September Father Mora sent an official letter to him, saying that he had decided to send an order to the two friars who were at the mission of Vellicatá, commanding them by no means to allow the packs of the Fernandine fathers which were detained there, or the smallest part of them, to be taken out, and in case it should be necessary he begged him to write the required order to the person in command of the frontier of Vellicatá, so that if the fathers needed the aid of the troops to prevent the removal of the packs they might be furnished.

The governor continues that in view of the official paper, and of what his Excellency says

in the concordat, that the governor of California shall assist in the delivery of the missions in fulfillment of his duty, he has done nothing but write his order to the person whom he had in command of the frontier of Vellicatá, telling him that in case the fathers of Santo Domingo, who administer that mission, should ask his aid to prevent the removal of those packs, he shall give it, demanding first the request for aid in writing. He says that this is all that he has done; that he has sent to his Excellency a copy of the official paper which was handed to him while he was in the mission of La Purísima by the reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora; that he has not had any answer from his Excellency, although it is known to him that he received his letter, for he replied in regard to other points; that he does not know whether Father Mora has had an answer to his appeal; and that in order that the commander of Monterey might be informed of the truth of the occurrence, he is sending a copy of the letter which he wrote to his Excellency in regard to this point, which is in substance what has been said.

But he did not send to Rivera a copy of the paper presented to him by Father Mora, of which he says he sent a copy to his Excellency. This is what Father Mora denies. As is noted above, he told Father Campa that he would not show him such a paper. As a matter of fact

he gave him no such paper. But it comes out clearly in the reply given by the governor that he did nothing but exactly fulfill his office. Yet, in the letter that follows, which is a copy of the one written by the Reverend Father Mora to the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, it will be seen that Father Mora places the blame on the governor.

At the same time that the commander of Monterey received the letter from the governor of California, the father president received a reply from Father Mora, who writes to him as follows:[146]

The Letter

Very Reverend Father President, Fray Junípero Serra: Beloved Brother and esteemed Father: I received your Reverence's letter of June 3 of this year in which you tell me the news about the packs which you learned upon your return from your desired destination. I have regretted it very much, but let it not be thought by any of my brothers that I have been the cause of all this delay, as some persons have thought and written.[147] Indeed, it is a fact that such an idea has been very painful to me, but I have done nothing that has not been directed to the honor of the Seraphic Order, as is proved by the certification that I gave to the reverend father Fray Francisco Palóu, for this purpose, and by other dealings which I had on this Peninsula with

this governor before we took possession, to prevent the detention of those packs, as he wished. Everything is known to the Reverend Father Palóu and to many other friars who were in this mission of Loreto. But, why do I trouble your Reverence? For you must have assured yourself of the extent of this gentleman's malice and rancour against everything that is opposed to his unfortunate ideas.

To-day we were confounded by his proceedings. He has come twice with armed soldiers against the fathers, and in one of these attempts he set himself to proclaiming a very scandalous edict. Making a public crier of himself in the very door of our dwelling, mustering by the sound of the drum all the soldiers, citizens, and Indians, and threatening death by hanging to those who might not have their arms ready when the cry reached them, he forthwith ordered the soldiers to set their lances and provide themselves with powder and ball. Against whom was this armament? It is understood that it was against the fathers; but it will surely be God's will and that of our holy patriarchs that it shall turn against himself.

In regard to the presence of Father Cambón on the frontier for the custody of the packs, there is on my part no objection whatever, and I will give him freely of everything that the poverty of that mission permits, without any charge whatever, for it would not appear well for such parsimony to exist between brothers. I have placed in the care of the fathers

of San José Cumundú the mules left there by Father Palóu, but I do not know in what state they will be found. In regard to the thirty milch cows which were bought at Gerardo, I took charge of them by arrangement with Father President Palóu, so that I might have the means to promote the ranch of this mission. They will be replaced from the last missions, if I am given previous notice so that I can give the necessary orders.

Let your Reverence rest assured that as far as I can contribute to the advancement of those missions I will do it without objection, although some persons think differently. But actions will prove it, for they are surest indication of a true affection, with which I offer myself to your Reverence and to all my brothers, for whom I desire all happiness. And I pray the All-Powerful to give them strength to continue with their apostolic zeal in the conversion of those souls, and that He may prosper the life of your Reverence for many years, and that you may not have to spend it in idleness but may occupy it in things agreeable to you.

Mission of Loreto, July 30, 1774. I kiss the hands of your Reverence. Your most affectionate brother who venerates you. Fray Vicente Mora.

And thus, from these letters it was clearly and unmistakably to be inferred to whom we ought to attribute the principal responsibility for the detention of the packs, and why all the

residents of the Peninsula and these new establishments grumbled about the behavior of the missionaries of our College who had administered those missions, discussion even being heard among them as to whether or not it was true that the governor had accused us and proclaimed that we had sacked the missions, for it was known to everybody that the packs were attached, some said by order of the governor, and others by order of the reverend Dominican fathers.

But, let us try to forget these injuries for God's sake, and pray to Him for those who caused them, contenting ourselves with what everybody now saw, those of California as well as those of these new presidios; for the same soldiers who went up had spread the news that the governor excused himself by laying the blame on Father Mora, president of those missions, while the latter blamed the governor, and that the great harmony which had existed between them had been broken, with as loud a noise as Father Mora intimates in his letter. This is what ought to be regretted most, because of the grave injuries, spiritual and temporal, which may follow from these scandals, as I experienced in California. May God give them peace and union, and permit that it be directed to the spiritual and temporal good of that poor Peninsula.

In view of what the governor wrote to the commander of these presidios, Don Fernando de Rivera, enclosing a copy of the paper which the father president Mora sent to him officially for the detention of those packs, the father president, Fray Junípero Serra, decided to send the original letter of the father president Mora, of which the preceding copy remains in this volume, to the reverend father guardian and the Venerable Discretory of our College, so that they might see that the detention of the loads was not caused by the reverend Dominican fathers; so that his Excellency might be satisfied with the same letter, since the captain commander Rivera has an order from his Excellency to send a diary of everything that occurs in these establishments; so that he might see in it the reply of the governor, who makes himself out innocent of everything and blames Father Mora; and so that his Excellency, after reading the letter of that father, might suspend his judgment as to the one who had been the cause of the detention, and in any case would see clearly from the excuses given by both that the detention or embargo of the packs has been without the slightest justification. For if there were any justification, now that they are being pressed in writing, they would reply in defense of their acts, instead of excusing themselves and accusing[148] each other. We do not yet know whether or not their dispute

will go on in the future. Indeed I am only writing what has happened up to the present, but the outcome of this affair will be set down later.

As soon as these letters were received, and that of Father Cambón, in which he begged the reverend father president for the love of God to take him out of that exile, sending the mules as soon as possible, the father president complied. Since there was now no obstacle in the way of taking up those packs, he sent an official paper to the captain commander, begging him for an escort to guard the mules which he had decided to send as soon as possible to California[149] to bring the packs. To this the commander replied that it could not be done at once, because he had an order from his Excellency to go and explore the neighborhood of the port of San Francisco, on which expedition he had decided to set out as soon as possible, in order to make the examination before the rains, but as soon as he came back he would give him all the escort necessary. For this reason it was not possible to despatch the pack train to California as soon as was desired.

As soon as this exploration was concluded and the commander had returned to the presidio of Monterey with the soldiers, the departure of the mules for the journey to California was arranged, and the reverend father president

decided that the father preacher Fray Francisco Dumetz should go with them, with the object of going to Vellicatá to bring up the cows and mares that were to come with the packs, and to serve as a consolation to Father Cambón on the road.

Father Dumetz left this mission of San Carlos de Monterey on the 13th of January of the present year, 1775, taking from it all the mules that were fit to make the journey, and being charged to collect at the missions all the mules possible, so that all the loads might be brought up at once, not leaving anything whatsoever in California. He carried a letter from the father president, Fray Junípero, to the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora, president of the Dominican fathers, telling him to write his order to that mission of the North which was to replace all the milch cows. He begged him also, if it should be possible, to do the same with the fifteen mares that were left in Cumundú, saying that he would esteem it greatly if they would assemble them in one of the missions of the North, so that without having to wait for them, and without much delay, they could leave at the same time as the cows. And in order to avoid this delay Father Dumetz carried instructions to send the letter to Loreto by a messenger who was to go ahead on the road, so that when he arrived at Vellicatá the answer would be there, and the stock also if possible.

While Father Dumetz was on the way to California, with the object of coming up with Father Cambón and bringing the delayed loads, the latter received a communication from Governor Don Felipe Barry, dated February 28, 1775, in which he says it was not he who was the cause of the delay of the packs. In proof of this he sends him a copy of a letter from his Excellency directed to Father Mora, president of the Dominican fathers, which his Reverence sent him officially that he might read it. The governor concludes his own letter in these words, "By this letter of his Excellency your Reverence will see, and everybody will see, who is the cause of the detention of those packs."[150]

Letter of His Excellency

In accordance with the opinion of the fiscal, and by a decree issued this day, I have acceded to the request made by your Reverence in your communication of the 10th of October of last year in regard to opening and examining the tierces which are detained at the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá belonging to the reverend missionary fathers of the College of San Fernando, and in consequence of it, indeed, I am ordering the governor of the Peninsula, Don Felipe Barry, to carry out my decision. I send this notice to your Reverence and beg and charge you to put it into effect, with the

understanding that whatever those boxes may contain must be delivered to those fathers, since everything is to serve for the recent conquests of San Diego and Monterey.

Mexico, August 24, 1774. May God guard your Reverence many years.

KNIGHT-COMMANDER FRAY DON ANTONIO MARÍA BUCARELI Y URSUA.

To the Reverend Father Fray Vicente Mora.

Below this copy the governor goes on to say:

"This is a copy of the original letter of his Excellency, the Knight-Commander Fray Don Antonio María Bucareli, which the reverend father president, Fray Vicente Mora, has shown me on this date, and to which I refer, although the order from his Excellency, which in this he states that he sent me, has not yet reached my hands. And so that it may be known to whomsoever it may concern, I sign it at the royal presidio of Loreto, on the 28th of February, 1775.

DON FELIPE BARRY.

As soon as Father Pedro Cambón received this letter, assuming that it would not be long before the pack train from these new missions would reach him, for the purpose of taking up those packs and of preventing further delay he presented himself to the Dominican fathers who were on that frontier, namely, Father Fray

Galisteo, minister of that mission of Nuestra Señora del Rosario de Viñaraco, Father Fray Miguel Hidalgo, of the mission of San Fernando de Vellicatá, and a Father Fray Manuel García of San Borja. He gave them the foregoing copy to read, telling them that, although the governor said in it that up to the present he had not received the order from his Excellency, this was not necessary, and still less the request to examine the loads.

He added that if Father Mora had intended to make the examination he could have done it before they left Loreto, when he was asked in writing to do it but refused, contenting himself with the new inventories of the missions; that these, when compared with the old ones, made it plain that we had taken nothing from the old missions[151] for the new, in testimony of which he and two of his friars gave a signed certification that it was a false accusation that had been raised against us; and that if after we delivered the missions by inventory they had desired to see what the packs contained they could have asked it in a brotherly fashion, and permission would have been gladly given, and all the delay avoided.[152] He requested, finally, since the harm could not now be remedied, that they examine the packs as soon as possible, without delaying to await the order from his Excellency, which might be slow in coming and cause some mishap

by the detention of the pack train, which he was expecting hourly.

The Dominican fathers, having been informed of the petition of the reverend Father Cambón, and of the contents of the letter of his Excellency, replied that they would in no manner permit or assist in such an examination, for in this matter nothing less than the honor of their holy habit and sacred Order was involved; that they had always understood that the delay of the packs was not caused by their president Mora, but by the governor; and that since the latter had receded and certified that he had not received any order for the examination, there was no reason why the packs should be detained one instant longer.

Father Dumetz arrived a few days afterward at the mission of Viñaraco with the pack train and the letters, which he sent to Father Mora at Loreto. And not finding the cattle in fit condition, in order not to be delayed he accompanied Father Cambón with the packs to these new missions, leaving in each mission the packs of utensils for each one of the friars individually. They arrived at the mission of San Carlos de Monterey on June 13, 1775, and delivered to the father president the last of the loads. They contained some utensils and books belonging to those who retired to the College, and some other little things necessary for the new foundations

which had been purchased in Mexico, Guadalaxara, and Loreto, and had been paid for by the syndic of the College and the missions from the allowance. We therefore now have nothing more pending in old California but the matter of the cattle, about which I shall speak after noting down some remarks concerning this affair of the packs.

CHAPTER VI

REFLECTIONS IN REGARD TO THE MATTER OF THE PACKS OF UTENSILS

In what has been said on the subject of the packs belonging to the missionaries of my College who administered the missions of old California, there are sufficient grounds for judging who was the cause of the detention of the loads and of the opinion that the populace must have formed of that detention. But, forgetting this, I can do no less, since I have written everything that actually happened for the purposes that I have intimated, than express my opinion, so that he who may read the story may know also that reasons exist for imputing to them a good motive in detaining those packs. Or, it is better to say, they must have thought they had reason and justice in preventing the withdrawal of the packs without their first being examined.

Nevertheless, they might have been examined without the least delay or appeal, for we never refused the request. On the contrary I begged the governor in Loreto in writing, as well as the reverend Dominican fathers, to make the examination, but they did not wish to do it. In fact

the latter replied that there was not the smallest thing in those packs belonging to those missions, and that it appeared from the inventories not only that we had not taken out anything, but that we had added many ornaments of church and sacristy and many utensils of house and field, paying for them with the surplus from the allowances. Of all this they gave me at the foot of my petition a signed certification, and the governor answered me at the foot of it that it was not a matter that pertained to him, but to the reverend Dominican fathers.

Notwithstanding this reply which both gave in writing while we were in California, the missionaries, for whose use all the things contained in the loads were said to be, did not wish to examine them. But as soon as they saw us gone they desired to see the contents of those packs, and, not daring to open them for fear of what might result from it, they appealed to his Excellency and asked for his consent, a fact of which we were previously ignorant and which was concealed from us. The governor excused himself, as appears from the letters[153] which have been copied, and from what has been said, and by the last letter which his Excellency wrote, from which it is seen that it was Father Mora who asked for the examination.

His Excellency does not state what motive he had, although no doubt he could give one. And

since it could not be because the things were not found in the missions as represented in the inventories, we have to charitably judge, in view of the piety of that father (which no less than his own honor moved him to write the certification that he gave, as has been stated), that he was moved to this petition by consideration for his own honor, in case he did it for that of the seraphic institute.

It has already been stated that Governor Don Felipe Barry told those fathers as soon as they arrived in California that we had sacked the churches and sacristies of the old missions, to take ornaments to the new ones, and that we had them in those packs, but that Father Mora, with his companions, certified that it was a false accusation. After our departure that point perhaps came up between the governor and Father Mora, the former laying on the father the blame for having coöperated in the sacking, to the injury of the missions. And knowing that we had left the loads in Vellicatá for lack of mules, he must have asked the governor to detain them while he appealed to his Excellency for permission to make the examination of what was contained in them, so that with ocular testimony he might close the mouths of those who talked without foundation, not only against us but also against Father Mora and his companions, who certified that it was a calumny.

But the proof would have been much easier and more effective by comparison of the inventories that were made when we delivered the missions, the first of which were signed by the soldiers who delivered them and the fathers who received them, and the second by our missionary and the Dominican who received them. But even if these means were not taken to satisfy themselves it could only have been through inadvertence, and if Father Mora gave this reason to his Excellency for making that examination, the petition[154] is so far from being ill-intentioned that it is on the contrary very laudable for the reason which I have set forth.

As far as the governor is concerned, it may be that he did not act out of ill-will but out of too much zeal, for it is not credible that a Christian man of his character would raise up this slander against friars in whom he had observed such disinterestedness, as he himself has proclaimed and written to Mexico since he broke[155] with the Dominican fathers. And so I conclude that somebody, perhaps Indians, perhaps soldiers, must have told him that we had taken ornaments and sacred vessels from the old missions for the new, and, giving it credence without further inquiry, he told the Dominican fathers as soon as they landed.

And as there is no lie that is not born of something, without doubt this one was born of

what was done by the illustrious visitor-general, Don José de Gálvez, which has already been related. And this was done by that gentleman through the royal authority which he had to dispose of the vestments of the churches of the Jesuits. In order to save expense for the royal treasury he ordered that any superfluous vestments should go to the new missions, and that whatever was lacking should be made up from the churches of Guadalaxara, Zacatecas, and Tepozotlán, as was done through the medium of the commissioners.

By this means, without any expense, the new missions were fitted out without any intervention by our missionaries, who would have been better pleased to receive new vestments than old and used ones. Indeed, the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, found it necessary to complain to his Excellency that the vestments of three missions were unserviceable, in virtue of which complaint he ordered others to be given. But to say that we had taken vestments and sacred vessels for the new missions of Monterey would be to fail in the truth, although it is well known that after the departure of the governor from the Peninsula vestments were taken from the missions. This was done by the order left to the father president by the visitor-general, and they did not go to Monterey but to San Fernando Vellicatá, which remained in the care and under

the administration of the reverend Dominican fathers.

I made Father Mora acquainted with all of the above and gave him a copy of all the documents and receipts, which made it plain, sending the originals to the archive of our College of San Fernando. The Reverend Father Mora might have shown them to the governor, but since he did not do so, but asked his Excellency the Viceroy for permission to examine the packs, he granted it on the condition that is seen in the letter, which is worthy of all reflection. For it can be seen that he says he gives the permission to examine the boxes and bales, but "with the understanding that whatever the boxes may contain it must be delivered to those Fernandine fathers, as it is all to serve for the new missions of San Diego and Monterey."

What motive his Excellency might have for this statement I do not know, for I have not seen the reasons they gave for asking for the examination, nor have I seen the order which his Excellency says he is despatching to the governor. If I get an opportunity to see it I shall not fail to copy it for the completion of these notes. But, reflecting upon those statements, I conclude that in virtue of the order which his predecessor had given, that things should be taken from the old missions for the aid of the new, using all that was not needed in

the old, the viceroy reasoned that there might possibly be something in the packs that could not be spared. This judgment I base on the persistence with which the examination was solicited. although there really was no danger of this. Or perhaps it might have been to avoid the quarrels and dissensions that might occur if, on seeing some little ornaments of church and sacristy, the Dominicans should say that they belonged to the old missions and we should say no, but that they were obtained through our benefactors in Mexico and other places, as was in fact the case. If this was the motive of his Excellency it was very wise.

This clause was sufficient for the reverend Dominican fathers not to wish to examine the packs when Father Cambón presented them, as has been shown, and it closed the mouths of those who had been talking. But after all, laying aside this statement of his Excellency, we always had at hand the positive proof to make it clear that not even the smallest thing in the packs belonged to the old missions, and that was the inventories of the delivery and receipt which remained in each one of those very missions. And a copy of them was sent to our College for the archive, as well as to the superior government of his Excellency, who perhaps will order the comparison made, seeing the urgent requests for the examination.

CHAPTER VII

FINAL DECISION IN REGARD TO THE MATTER OF THE CATTLE AND MULES

It has already been said that an agreement had been made to take from old California a stock of cattle, sheep, goats, and horses; that the father president of the Dominicans gave excuses not to carry it out; and that for this reason the father preacher Fray Miguel de la Campa went to the College. As soon as he reached Mexico and told what had occurred he went to speak to his Excellency on the subject of these cattle, as well as of those which had been purchased from the inhabitants of the South and had remained at Loreto and the mission of San José Cumundú.

His Excellency replied that in regard to the first point the Dominican fathers had stated that there had been great mortality among the cattle, and that the missions had none too many, but that if we should cancel the agreement there would be no lack of cattle for the missions of Monterey. As to the other cattle, and the mares which had been purchased from individuals, he had already given the order to Governor Don Felipe Neve to send them to Monterey.

This was done as soon as the governor arrived at Loreto. In the same mail in which he gives notice to the father president of his arrival, he says that he not only brings the order of his Excellency to send these cows and droves of mares, but also the nine mules and six horses which were given as alms by two benefactors in the South, and which the royal commissary, Don Antonio Toledo, had applied to the royal service. A few days behind this notification the cattle arrived at San Diego, with a letter from the governor for the reverend father president, saying that he was sending these cattle and a drove of mares. And as soon as they arrived the father president assigned the mares to the two missions of San Francisco and Santa Clara, which lacked them, and the cows he placed on deposit for the first mission that should be founded without an endowment of cattle. In this way, thanks to God, all questions with the missions of Old California have now been settled.

CHAPTER VIII

GIFT OF MULES SENT TO THE MISSIONS BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY

In the representation made to his Excellency the Viceroy by the reverend father president, Fray Junípero Serra, in the year 1773, in paragraph twenty-six[156] he asked for a gift of some mules, on account of the need of them in all the missions. His Excellency, therefore, sent an order to Don Pedro Corbalán, intendant of the royal hacienda of the mining camp of Los Alamos, to assemble them and send them by the bark that would go to Santa Cruz de Mayo to transport them to the camp of Loreto in California, directed to the governor of the Peninsula, so that he might order them driven by land to the new establishments of Monterey. Señor Corbalán complied, embarking one hundred unbroken mules, but according to a letter from the governor eleven died at sea soon after they were loaded, leaving only eighty-nine. As the governor had no other information except that they were for the new establishments, he sent them to the captain commander, Don Fernando de Rivera. Although Don Fernando knew

before he left Mexico that these mules were for the missions, nevertheless he accepted them, and because he had no letter or order from his Excellency, he distributed them among the soldiers, beginning with San Diego.

Notwithstanding that the reverend father president already knew that a hundred mules were to come for the missions, he did not wish to say a single word, since these might not be the ones belonging to the missions, for he had no document with which to demand them. Some days after the arrival at Monterey of a little more than half of them, when the rest had been already distributed by him among the soldiers, Commander Rivera asked the reverend father if he had any letter of consignment of the hundred mules. The father president replied that he had no letter at all from Mexico, or any information except that of which the commander himself was apprised. He said, further, that his Excellency had been asked for them and had granted them, sending to Sinaloa his superior order that they be purchased and sent to the camp of Loreto; and that he had just received a letter from the new governor, Don Felipe Neve, in which he told him that he had an order from his Excellency to send the cattle and mares, and also one hundred mules to him, adding that the last point had been put into effect by his predecessor, Señor Barry, and that he would

immediately put the rest into effect. From this he inferred that the mules which had come up were for the missions, and if he had not asked for them it was only for lack of documentary authorization.

"You must know," continued the father president, "whether or not you have requested mules for the presidio." To this the commander replied that he had not asked for any mules, and so concluded that they were for the missions; but because the soldiers lacked them, he had been forced to supply[157] them. He added that his Reverence might give him a written statement, and he would promptly deliver to him the rest of the mules.

The reverend father president gave him a paper, relating in it all that I have set forth, and concluding by saying that because he had no document expressly saying that these mules were for the missions, he had not spoken, nor would he have spoken of them if the commander himself had not asked him for the paper. As soon as the commander received the document he sent a note saying that they should come and receive forty-odd mules. He stated in writing that he had divided the rest among the soldiers, for they were in extreme need, and for the lack of them could not render service. The father president accepted the forty-odd mules and divided them immediately among the missions,

reserving some fifteen for the other three missions which he had been ordered to found promptly, as he did.

With the arrival of the barks a letter came for Don Fernando Rivera from the reverend father guardian of the College, with the order enclosed from his Excellency to deliver the mules to the missions as belonging to them. This order came open so that the father president might read it, and, after closing it, deliver it to Rivera, which he did. But Rivera pretended ignorance of it, as if such an order had not come to him and he knew nothing of it. His Reverence also remained silent and dissembled, writing to the reverend father guardian to tell him what he was to do, or what his Excellency might decide.

In the meantime, the missions lack this aid which was sent to them by the liberality and zeal of his Excellency the Viceroy, Don Antonio María Bucareli, who will receive from God his reward for the charity which he practices toward the missions, with the high and holy desire to extend his holy Catholic Faith in these vast dominions and lands until now unknown, and to increase the number of sons of the Holy Church, and gain new vassals for our King. And I pray the Divine Majesty that these holy desires may be fulfilled for the Glory of God, of our King, and of our Seraphic Order.

EDITORIAL NOTES

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[1] For Serra's journey from San Blas to Mexico City see the *Vida*, chapter XXXIV. Therein is printed a letter from Serra to Palóu, dated at Tepic November 10, 1772. The same letter is printed in *New California*, Volume I, 259–262. An interesting tale is told in the *Vida* of Serra's recovery from his illness at Querétaro, where he lodged at the College of the Holy Cross. A summary of Serra's *Representación* and the measures for California which it produced are given in the *Vida*, chapter XXXV. For his supplementary *Representación* see *post*, Note 28.

For Alta California affairs in 1773 see the following unpublished documents: Serra to the Viceroy (undated), 1773 ("Reclamo sobre conducta de Pedro Fages"); Agustín Callis to Serra, Real del Monte, April 3, 1773 (complaints against Fages); Casafonda to Verger, Madrid, April 24, 1773 (acknowledges map of Río Grande de San Francisco"); Conde de Lacy, minister in St. Petersburg, to King of Spain, May 6, 1773 (relating to Russian projects); Expediente Sobre el reintegro de los Ganados, Ornamentos, etc., 1774 (correspondence of Palóu, Estavilla, Bucareli, and others); Fages to Bucareli, Monterey, June 2, 1773 (concerning assignment of lands to soldiers and servants); Serra to the Viceroy, Mexico, June 4, 1773 (concerning his charges against Fages); Verger to Manuel de la Vega, Mexico, June 26, 1773 (concerning Serra's memorial to the Viceroy); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, July 27, 1773 (concerning Russians in the North Pacific, and plans for the Pérez voyage); Bucareli to O'Reilly, Mexico, July 28 and November 26, 1773 (the latter mentions the Anza expedition); Bucareli, Mexico, August 14, 1773 (commission to Rivera y Moncada in place of Fages); Bucareli to Rivera y Moncada, Mexico, September 19, 1773 (concerning the Anza expedition); Estado (statistical table) of neophytes and stock at missions of Old California, sent by Bucareli to Arriaga, September 26, 1773; Palóu to Verger, Mission San Carlos, November 21, 1773 (has recently arrived; report on missions); Palóu to Verger, Mission San Carlos, November 26, 1773 (arrived on the 14th; grave need of supplies; suggestions for distribution of supplies); Palóu

to Serra, Mission San Carlos, November 26, 1773 (a full summary, almost a diary, of his journey from Loreto to Monterey. He used this document in his report on the missions); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, November 26, 1773 (reply to royal order of August 24, to continue exploration of the northern coasts); royal cédula ordering the Manila galleon to stop at Monterey. Carlos III, Aranjuez, December 14, 1773; José de Gálvez, "informe" concerning the division of the missions of California, Madrid, December 18, 1773 (with opinion of the royal fiscal, Madrid, September 1, 1774); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, December 27, 1773, No. 1224. Reserved (acknowledges receipt of documents relating to Russian expeditions, and reports that Pérez will sail soon from San Blas); Bucareli's instructions to Pérez, undated copy, enclosed with foregoing letter.

[2] M. and D. omit this entire passage: "en quanto llegó, y que tomó la benedición del R. P. Guardian, fué a visitar al Excelentísimo Sor. Virrey, quien le recibió con expresiones de querer le dar el consuelo do lo que deseaba de eficases providencias para el adelantamiento espiritual de las nuevas conquistas, para cuyo fin le encargó que le hiciese una representación, expresando en ella todo lo que juzgase conveniente; hizolo asi que a la letra es como sigue."

[3] The Figueroa MS. reads "este" for "oeste."

[4] M. and D. read "38" instead of "28" minutes.

[5] Figueroa, M. and D., all have "imaginé" for "máxime."

[6] M. and D. omit "y expedito."

[7] D. omits "ó alguna."

[8] D. omits "ración a la."

[9] M. and D. omit "de su elección."

[10] M. and D. omit "de los recien convertidos."

[11] D. omits "dos."

[12] M. and D. omit "la misión de."

[13] M. and D. change "con nuestro" to "al."

[14] M. and D. omit "no."

[15] Figueroa reads "la misión" where "las misiones" is clearly intended.

[16] In this section M. and D. omit "Gerónimo Planes, casado; Balentín Planells, casado"; add "y son los que pongo á continuación"; and omit "El segundo," and "El tercero que su apellido."

[17] D. omits "ó no soldados."

[18] M. and D. omit "por decreto de V. E."

[19] M. and D. add "en su concepto."

[20] M. and D. read "de tres á tres."

[21] The secretary evidently misunderstood Serra's statement here. I have rendered his summary somewhat freely to fit what Serra said.

[22] M. and D. read "consumen" for "continuen."

[23] D. reads "fomento, pueblo, y existencia" for "fomento, pueble y existencia."

[24] D. omits "al quarto."

[25] M. and D. read "pueblo," when "presidio" is implied by the construction.

[26] M. and D. add "al efecto y por el mejor acierto."

[27] M. and D. read "de aquella Peninsula" instead of "á aquella Peninsula."

[28] Doyle reads "nueve" instead of "seis." On May 21, 1773, at the College of San Fernando, Serra made a supplementary *Representación,* called for by the Viceroy's council on May 6 (see this volume, p. 55). A copy is in the Santa Bárbara Archives (cited by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, 121, Note 5.) An English translation was printed by Alex S. Taylor in the *California Farmer,* October 6, 13, and 20, 1865.

[29] D. omits "á su respecto y estos responsables á los cargos de."

[30] M. and D. read "distrito" for "destino."

[31] D. omits "que importan."

[32] M. and D. omit "recomendable."

[33] M. and D. omit "diez y ocho."

[34] D. omits "al tres y."

[35] M. and D. read "setenta" for "sesenta."

[36] M. and D. read "occurrencias indispensables" in place of "occurrencias necessarias e indispensables."

[37] M. and D. omit "y tuvo el día de hoy."

[38] M. and D. write "en su lugar respectivo" in place of "al folio —." As the folio is left blank in the MS. I have given the passage a free rendering.

[39] M. and D. read "de la ciudad de Loreto."

[40] The Figueroa MS. by a slip repeats "como de la."

[41] D. omits "y temporal."

[42] See this volume, chapters XXXVII–XLI.

[43] Father Serra's journey from Mexico to San Diego and Monterey is related in the *Vida,* chapter XXXVI, which tells also of his conference with Anza at San Diego.

[44] The MS. leaves a blank for the exact date. M. and D. read "cómputo" for "compañero."

[45] M. and D. read "Monterey" in place of "San Gabriel."

[46] M. and D. omit "y nos ayudó la sardina que se logró de una varasón." *Varasón* in the MS. is either a slip of the pen or a corruption of *Virazón,* meaning a sea breeze.

[47] The arrival of Rivera and of the *San Antonio* at Monterey are briefly mentioned by the *Vida* in chapter XXIX. Manuscript sources are: Bucareli to Rivera, Mexico, August 7, 1773; Rivera to Bucareli, Loreto, March 20, 1774; Bucareli to Palóu, Mexico, May 25, 1774; Rivera y Moncada, Testimonio de diligencia, 1774 (consists of two letters dated June 21 and June 22); Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, September 30, 1774; Bucareli to Rivera, Mexico, January 2, 1775.

For printed accounts of New California affairs in 1774 see Bancroft, *California,* I, chapter X; Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries,* II, chapters IX, X; Chapman, *History of California:* the Spanish Period, chapters XX–XXIV; Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California,* chapter X–XIV; Eldredge, Zoeth S., *The Beginnings of San Francisco,* I, chapters II–V.

For the general current of affairs in New California during 1774 see the following manuscript materials: Unsigned letter (apparently by Serra), Monterey, June 22, 1774 (telling of finding a mast on the beach at Carmel, and describing Indian customs. Filed in Bancroft Library, under September 26, 1774); Juan Ramos de Lora, Mission San Fernando, July 19, 1774 (has received a letter from Serra dated San Diego, March 13, on his way from Mexico, reviewing general conditions in New California, and summarizing the first Anza expedition); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, September 26, 1774 (transmitting Serra's letter of June 21, 1774, and notices proving the fertility of New California); Bucareli to Neve, instructions to guide him in his new position as governor of California, with accompanying letter, Mexico, October 28, 1774 (contains data on the Gálvez period); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, December 27, 1774 (growth of the settlement of San Blas; cost of the California expeditions); same to same, same date, concerning the use of 136,184 pesos from the Pious Fund for the California expeditions; Bucareli to Rivera, January 5, 1775, concerning the exploration of San Francisco Bay; Juan Ramos de Lora, San Fernando, January 11, 1775 (transmitting diaries of

New California explorations by sea and land; further comments on the Anza expeditions); Serra, Informe de los Augmentos, etc., February 5, 1775; Bucareli to Serra, May 24, 1775, acknowledging Palóu's diary (*Santa Bárbara Archives*, cited by Engelhardt, II, 144).

[48] Of the first Anza expedition there are the following known diaries: 1. Juan Bautista de Anza, Diario de la Ruta y operacionos que yo el infrascrito capitán . . . hago y practico en solicitud de abrir camino de dha. Provincia [Sonora] á la California Setemptrional, Jan. 8 to April 5, 1774, signed at San Gabriel. 2. Juan Baptista de Anza, Continuación del Diario del capitán . . . Anza . . . que comprehende su regreso . . . hasta . . . Tubac. April 6 to May 27, 1774. 3. Juan Baptista de Anza, Diario de la 1ª Expedicion q practicó por Tierra el año de 74 el Tente coronel . . . Ansa a los Nuevos Establecimtos. de la California. Jan. 8 to May 27, 1774. Dated at Mexico, Nov. 13, 1774 (covers the ground of the two foregoing). 4. Fray Juan Díaz, Diario, que forma el Padre Fr. Juan Díaz . . . en el viage . . . para abrir camino desde la Provincia de la Sonora á la California Septentrional. Jan. 8. to March 22, 1774, ending at San Gabriel. 5. Fray Juan Díaz, Diario que formó el P. Fr. Juan Díaz . . . en el Viage, que hizo desde . . . Sn. Gabriel . . . hasta . . . Tubac, May 3 to May 26, ending at Tubac. 6. Fray Francisco Garcés, Diario de la Entrada que se practica . . . para los nuevos Establecimientos de San Diego, y Monterey. Jan. 22 to Apr. 26, 1774, ending at San Dionisio (Yuma Junction). See Chapman, *The Founding of Spanish California*, 457–458. There are various official summaries of the foregoing diaries, and extensive expedientes of related correspondence. I have assembled and translated these documents with a view to their publication in the near future.

[49] M. and D. omit "Sonora."

[50] M. and D. omit "la mulada."

[51] M. and D. omit "con mucha urbanidad . . . y paz."

[52] D. omits "dos."

[53] The *Vida* groups together in chapters XXXVII and XXXVIII the three voyages to the North Pacific by Pérez (1774), Hezeta (1775) and Arteaga (1779). Materials for the Pérez voyage are extensive. There are diaries by Juan Pérez, Estevan Josef Martínez, Father Crespi, and Father Peña. Pérez also kept a Tabla Diaria. The diaries of Fathers Peña and Crespi were printed in both Spanish and English in 1891 by Geo. Butler Griffin in the Historical Society of Southern California *Publications*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 83–213.

Correspondence includes the following: Bucareli to Pérez, Dec. 24, 1773; Bucareli to Rivera, Dec. 24, 1773; Francisco Hijosa and Joseph Faustino Ruíz, Lista de los oficiales . . . que tripulan la fragata *Santiago*, Mexico, Jan. 22, 1774; Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Feb. 24, 1774. Reservado (reports that the *Santiago* has sailed); Serra to the Viceroy, Mission San Carlos, June 21, 1774 (tells of the sailing of the *Santiago*; Dr. Dávila, afraid of the sea, has refused to sail); Pérez to Bucareli, San Carlos de Monterey, August 31, 1774; Palóu, Relación of the voyage of the *Santiago*, based on the diaries of Crespi and Peña, Mission San Carlos de Monterey, Sept. 6, 1774; Serra to Bucareli, Monterey, Sept. 9, 1774, complaining of Pérez (facsimile in the Bancroft Library; translation in Historical Society of Southern California *Publications*, II, Pt. I, pp. 76–80); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Sept. 28, 1774, concerning Russians; Serra to Bucareli, Mission San Carlos, Oct. 7, 1774, transmitting Crespi's diary (facsimile in B. L.); English translation printed in Historical Society of Southern California *Publications*, II, Pt. I, p. 82); Pérez to Bucareli, San Blas, Nov. 3, 1774 (includes copy of his letter of Aug. 31, and continues the account to Nov. 3); Pángua to Serra, Nov. 8, 1774 (*Sta. Bárbara Arch.*); Bucareli to Pérez, Mexico, Nov. 14, 1774 (has received the Martínez diary; plans for a new expedition); Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, Nov. 26, 1774 (summarizing the Pérez expedition and transmitting the Pérez diary); Melchor Peramás to Arriaga, Nov. 26, 1774 (extract from Martínez's diary, entries for July 20 and 21); list of goods traded by the *Santiago* with the Indians of latitude 55° 49′, Mexico, Dec. 27, 1774; Vicente Doz to Arriaga, Madrid, June 21, 1775, summarizing the Pérez expedition and giving an opinion concerning the Russians.

[54] M. and D. read "36½" in place of "36" degrees.

[55] Another manuscript of this diary is in the Archivo General de Indias (A. G. I. Sevilla, Papeles del Ministerio de Estado, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Legajo 1). It will be referred to here as the Sevilla MS. This version of the diary was sent to Spain; the one from which Figueroa's copy was made went to Crespi's College of San Fernando. Down to July 14, when the *Santiago* began to approach land in northern latitudes, the entries differ greatly in length, and in the incidents mentioned. So long as they were out on the high sea minute entries were treated as of little consequence. But beginning with July 14, the two versions run very close together. It is noticeable that in the Sevilla MS. the captain is sometimes given credit for taking the latitude, whereas in the Figueroa MS. "los pilotos" instead of the captain are mentioned. The diary of Crespi printed by Griffin (see Note 53) was copied from this Sevilla MS.

[56] M. and D. read "presidente" in place of "predicador." The Sevilla MS. agrees with the Figueroa version.

[57] M. and D. add "al amanecer."

[58] As to latitudes the Sevilla MS. differs from the Figueroa MS. in several places, reading as follows: 33 degrees and 46 minutes for June 24; 35 degrees and 37 minutes for June 26; 39 degrees and 43 minutes for June 30; 43 degrees and 35 minutes for July 5; 44 degrees and 5 minutes for July 8; 46 degrees and 23 minutes for July 11; 48 degrees and 55 minutes for July 13; 53 degrees and 13 minutes for July 17.

[59] The Sevilla MS. reads 43° 35′.

[60] All four texts differ slightly as to latitude here.

[61] M. and D. read "nordoeste" instead of "nordeste."

[62] M. and D. read "nordoeste" instead of "nordeste" in this line and the one preceding.

[63] M. and D. read "nordoeste" instead of "nordeste," and the Sevilla MS. agrees with them.

[64] D. omits "bien largas."

[65] M. and D. read "sudoeste" instead of "sudeste"; the Sevilla MS. agrees with them.

[66] M. and D. read "sudeste" for "sudueste."

[67] M. and D. read "este" for "sueste"; the Sevilla MS. agrees with them.

[68] D. omits "la costa" from "la costa de tierra."

[69] D. omits "María."

[70] D. adds "del mismo tamaño venian como."

[71] In the next ten lines M. and D. depart from the MS. in nearly every phrase.

[72] M. and D. read "y no lo lleve" instead of "para que no lo lleve."

[73] M. and D. omit "chicas."

[74] M. and D. omit "Poco despues cambio al sudueste, y se puso la proa al sur-sudueste."

[75] M. and D. add "completamente."

[76] D. adds "de ninguna manera."

[77] M. and D. read "referido" for "que haviamos hoy."

[78] M. and D. read "sudoeste" for "sueste."

[79] Peña reads "al E. ¼ al S.E."

[80] M. and D. read "nordoeste."

[81] M. and D. read "nordoeste."

[82] M. and D. read "cuarenta y seis."

[83] M. and D. read "nordoeste."

[84] M. and D. read "nordoeste quarta al norte."

[85] M. and D. here add six lines and the chapter heading. It is clear from the context that the lines and the heading were not in the diary. I have retained the chapter heading.

[86] In this paragraph the Sevilla MS. mentions no mountains, but consistently reads "tierra" where the other texts read "sierra." It says that San Estevan was named in honor of "the second pilot," instead of "the two pilots," as the others put it. I have adopted "the second pilot" as the correct reading.

[87] M. and D. add "que en breve rato estuvieron cerca de nosotros." The Sevilla MS. agrees with them.

[88] M. and D. read "nordoeste y este-sudoeste."

[89] M. and D. omit "nevado"; the Sevilla MS. contains it.

[90] M. and D. omit "nevado."

[91] M. and D. insert here a chapter heading, about ten lines in the entry for the 13th, and about five lines in that for the 14th which are in neither the Sevilla nor the Figueroa MS.

[92] M. and D. substitute "el reposo" for "decir misa."

[93] M. and D. omit "con la proa."

[94] M. and D. read "sudeste."

[95] M. and D. read "sur-sudeste."

[96] M. and D. insert here the "Note by the Padre Collector," which in the original precedes the *Noticias*, as I have placed it. In Part III Palóu supplies the chapter titles but leaves them without numbers. I have supplied these in each case.

[97] For Palóu's doings after he reached San Diego in September, to the end of 1773, see the following unpublished documents, of which there are transcripts in the Bancroft Library: Palóu to Verger, San Carlos, November 21, 1773 (he has recently arrived; will prepare a report on the missions); Palóu to Verger, San Carlos, Nov. 26, 1773 (grave need of supplies; suggestions for distribution of supplies); Palóu to Serra, San Carlos, Nov. 26, 1773 (a full summary, almost a diary of his journey from Loreto to Monterey. This document is used in his report on the missions); Palóu to the Viceroy, Dec. 10, 1773, Informe del Estado de las cinco primeras misiones de Monterey. (Incorporated in the *Noticias*. See this volume, pp. 211–238.)

[98] M. and D. add "como de los bienes que constan de ellos."

[99] M. and D. omit "para los labores."

[100] M. and D. omit "Obispo de Tolosa."

[101] M. and D. add "buenos."

[102] M. and D. read "La misión de San Antonio de Pádua" in place of "se."

[103] M. and D. omit "para que tenga individual noticia de esta tierra nuevamente discubierta."

[104] M. and D. omit "de Dios Nuestro Señor."

[105] Rivera's instructions were dated August 17, 1773 (Bucareli, Instruccion que debe observar el comandante nombrado para los Establecimientos de San Diego y Monterey, Mexico, August 17, 1773. Commander Rivera recruited soldiers and families in Sinaloa, with them reached Loreto in March, 1774, and soon afterward proceeded north (Bancroft, *California*, I, 217–218). Manuscript sources for his coming to New California are: Bucareli to Fages, Mexico, Sept. 7, 1773; Rivera to Bucareli, Loreto, March 25, 1774; Bucareli to Fages, Sept. 30, 1774; Rivera, Testimonio de diligencias, June 21, June 22, 1774; Bucareli to Rivera, Jan. 2, 1775.

Rivera's instructions provided for the moving of Mission San Diego from Cosoy to another site, and in 1774 the transfer was made to Nipaguay. See Serra, Representación, San Fernando de Mexico, May 21, 1773; Bucareli, instructions to Rivera, Mexico, Aug. 17, 1773; Fray Luís Jayme, letter of Apr. 3, 1774; Serra, Informe de 5 Feb., 1775, pp. 124–127; Lasuén, Informe de 1783; Serra, San Diego, *Lib. de Misión*, 3–4. See also Engelhardt, Fr. Zephyrin, *San Diego Mission* (San Francisco, 1920), pp. 52–58.

The expedition of Rivera and Palóu to San Francisco Bay in 1774 is dealt with in Bucareli to Rivera, Mexico, Jan. 5, 1775; Bucareli to Serra, May 24, 1775, acknowledging Palóu's diary (*Sta. Bárbara Arch.* Cited by Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, II, 144); Bucareli, instructions to Rivera, Mexico, Aug. 17, 1773.

[106] D. reads "nord nordeste" for "nor noroeste."

[107] M. and D. add "por ser de pura tierra poblada."

[108] D. reads "descubrimos" for "discurrimos."

[109] M. and D. read "demas" for "lomas."

[110] M. and D. read "nornordeste." The Figueroa MS. reads "nornorueste," which appears to be an error in copying. I have adopted the reading of M. and D.

[111] M. and D. read "contentos" for "atentos."

112 M. and D. omit "algunos de ellos vide mui barbados y los mas de buenas caras, y corpulentes."

113 M. and D. change this phrase considerably, without essentially altering the meaning.

114 D. omits "mas que quatro horas y medio há sido."

115 M. and D. omit "en quadrillas."

116 M. and D. omit "de ancho como."

117 M. and D. read "nordoeste" for "nornordeste."

118 M. and D. vary the expression here, without affecting the meaning.

119 M. and D. greatly vary the phrasing here, but without essential change in meaning.

120 M. and D. add "ó acero."

121 M. and D. read "oeste-sudeste" for "oeste-sudueste."

122 M. and D. read "seis y algo mas" for "seis á ocho."

123 M. and D. omit "componer la subida que era mui alta, acantilada, y sin vereda, y con la."

124 M. and D. read "la colorada" for "madera colorada."

125 D. reads "crusando" for "casando."

126 M. and D. read "salimos" for "salí."

127 M. and D. omit "para que su Reverencia informara, como lo hizo, informandole y remitiendo el diario."

128 The *Vida* barely mentions the matters treated here at great length in chapters III–VII. For affairs of Old California in 1774 see Fray Vicente Mora, diary of tour through the missions of the Peninsula, beginning Nov. 4, 1773 (gives interesting comments on the natives of the Peninsula); Fray Vicente Mora, instructions for the management of the Peninsular missions, Vellicatá, Jan. 1, 1774; Bucareli to Arriaga, Mexico, June 26, 1774, enclosing Father Mora's diary. See also letters of Ortega, July 18 and October 3, 1774 (*Prov. St. Pap.*, MS. I, 148–149, 155).

129 See Vol. I, pp. 284–290.

130 M. and D. here agree with Figueroa in calling Campa "Padre Predicador," but four lines below they call Sánchez "Padre Presidente" instead of "Padre Predicador," as Figueroa reads.

131 M. and D. read "falta" for "causa."

132 M. and D. omit "de dho año."

133 M. and D. read "afirmaban" for "confirmaron."

[134] By a slip the Figueroa MS. reads "sin importe" for "su importe."

[135] M. and D. read "se sello" for "se llevó."

[136] M. and D. add "al efecto."

[137] M. and D. add "frontera."

[138] M. and D. read "sin" for "con."

[139] M. and D. read "Pizón" instead of Sizón."

[140] D. reads "determinación" in place of "detención."

[141] M. and D. read "noticia" for "copia."

[142] M. and D. transfer the date and place from the top to the bottom of the letter. I have followed them in this. The same is true of the next three letters.

[143] D. reads "misioneros" for "ministros."

[144] M. and D. change "estas palabras" to "en otras cosas la siguiente."

[145] The month is lacking in Figueroa. "De Octubre" is supplied by M. and D.

[146] M. and D. read "como se verá en la carta a continuación" for "que le dice de esta manera."

[147] M. and D. omit "y han escrito."

[148] D. omits "acusandose."

[149] D. omits "á la California."

[150] M. and D. change this quotation to "recomendando la que copiamos en seguida de S. E. y asegura que tanto su Reverencia como la generalidad, verán sobre quien recae la culpabilidad por la detención de dichas cargas."

[151] M. and D. omit "misiones."

[152] M. and D. add "al mismo tiempo."

[153] M. and D. read "cargas" for "cartas."

[154] M. and D. omit "la petición."

[155] Barry's relations with the Dominicans are discussed in Engelhardt, *Missions and Missionaries*, I, 472–513, *passim*.

[156] M. and D. omit "en el numero 26."

[157] M. and D. read "repartirselas" for "aviarlos."

NAZARETH COLLEGE OF ROCHESTER
3 2769 01 625 764